

(Found in 1979)

## JOIN US IN WORKING FOR A RADICAL, REVITALIZED NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED MEMBERS OF THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY, ARE DEEPLY TROUBLED ABOUT OUR PARTY; ITS DIRECTION, ITS LOW MORALE, ITS APPARENT INABILITY TO PERSUADE AND EXCITE PEOPLE.

We have just witnessed in the past Federal election a decrease in our popular vote, and worse, an erosion of our vote in some working class areas. We call these defeats.

*We reject the explanation that our recent electoral defeats were failures of technique or due to shortages of funds. We have examples to disprove such explanations. These are only a few: Spadina and St. Paul's had far more funds and paid workers this time, but our vote plunged. Trinity had virtually no money or organization: the vote decreased, but no more than it did in ridings with well-financed and -organized campaigns. York South's campaign could hardly have been improved on in terms of organization, literature, numbers of workers and signs, and we all know the sad result.*

We know that it isn't a satisfactory answer to say that large numbers of people were so unnerved by minority government and so frightened by the threat of a wage and price freeze that they decided to play it safe and change their votes from N.D.P. to the presumed majority party. For one thing, no one has done the sort of in-depth analysis that would show this was so. But even if it were the case, wouldn't it prove that we had failed miserably to give the voters positive reasons for voting N.D.P.?

We fear, however, that easy answers will be found and accepted for our electoral defeats, that many members will shrug them off as mere "set backs" or the result of dirty tricks by the opposition or black outs by the press. *And if that happens we'll continue to make the same mistakes: trying to win with catchy slogans, spending money we don't have, concentrating on the issue the press and opposition are pushing, and relying heavily on election campaigns to gain ground.*

Suppose we were to win large numbers of seats through the use of catchy slogans, great sums of money, brilliant organization, lawn signs for every positive voter. Would it mean that we could govern? *Winning that way might really amount to losing -- losing whatever integrity and principles we have.*

*There is clearly a difference between government and power. To have power -- to govern effectively -- we must have a "mass base." We must persuade large numbers of people of what we stand for, and we must be sure of what we stand for. Otherwise, we may form a government without power. We have seen examples of such governments. The Barrett Government had to dilute their Land Commission Act because the majority was not behind it, knew nothing about it beforehand, and therefore*

allowing big

business to stampede public opinion against it. To give an extreme example, Allende was murdered, his government overthrown. *The mass base must be established before an election; after may be too late.*

Persuading people to vote N.D.P. IS important, but it is not enough. Persuading people to be New Democrats is a lot tougher. And it is not the same kind of job the opposition is faced with. Liberals and Conservatives can gain or maintain power by hustling votes: most people already know of or are at least prepared to tolerate any legislative programmes these parties want to introduce. *But we in the N.D.P. have endorsed policies that would entail basic changes in the organization of society.* Do we still intend to bring about such changes? Are we still radical? If so, it will not be possible to sneak up on several million people! We must confront Ontarians with a socialist alternative, encourage debate and understanding of our policies.

Where are we going wrong? *Are we failing to get through to the voters? Or are we getting through to them and then being rejected?*

We think both answers are partly correct. Often we don't get through to the voters. Let's stop hoping that the public media will come around to helping us. The day the media favours us will be the day we've either had the revolution or have sold out. Sometimes we do get through to the voters -- but too often what we get through to them with is so incomplete, so moderate or watered down that it can scarcely seem a compelling alternative.

The following is an outline of some problem areas about which discussion would be helpful. It is not intended to be comprehensive; the authors are aware of numerous omissions. It is our hope that this paper might begin discussion leading to a radical, revitalized New Democratic Party.

# 1. THE TENDENCY TOWARDS MODERATION, becoming at times the rallying cry of the Party.

Sometimes this tendency is heard as "seeking the middle ground," sometimes as "aiming at the middle class vote" or at everyone. But the "middle ground" is something we arrive at after debate and action, after discarding various alternatives -- not something to be aimed at. And trying to gain the middle class vote is fine -- *as long as we are trying to gain it with a socialist programme.* Unfortunately, that's not what we see happening.

Where we have tough, radical policies, shouldn't we unveil them now? And where we haven't, isn't it time we did? It's not very honest, and it's not even good strategy to wait til we've "won" office. The old-line parties have usurped the field when it comes to moderation. In fact, our Party is often in danger of their outflanking us on the



left! The Canadian electorate plainly does not need another moderate party. Does it need a strong left? We think so, but the only way to know for sure is to try. At the least, we haven't much to lose: we're standing still now.

2. THE ALTERATION BY SMALL ELECTED GROUPS WITHIN THE PARTY OF POLICY DECIDED AT CONVENTION.

For instance, the last Federal Convention said categorically "NO" to the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline -- not "if" as was stated during the last Federal campaign.

Do elected groups within the Party not trust the membership? And if not, *is it because the membership doesn't deserve to be trusted, doesn't mean or understand what it says?*

We realize that we can't muzzle those we elect and we recognize that new situations arise for which we have no precise policies but which must be dealt with. We therefore think the solution, if any, lies in being far more careful in choosing members of committees and candidates for public office: they must, above all, be people whom we trust and who trust us. The same people should not be elected time and again to committees and offices until they are regarded and regard themselves as permanent office-holders and indispensable. More members should be given (and take) the opportunity and responsibility of holding elected office within the Party. Also, there should be more communication -- dialogue -- among us between conventions.

3. THE EAGERNESS OF MANY PARTY MEMBERS TO SEEK OUT "STARS" TO RUN AS CANDIDATES -- that is, people with "a name" who may attract publicity in the capitalist press, and whether or not they have a long-term commitment to the N.D.P. (or socialism) or any known commitment at all.

*By definition, such people cannot represent us -- or anyone -- and we have no basis for trusting them. We think that the choice of "star" candidates is symptomatic -- of a cop-out from the hard work of persuading the public, on a one-to-one basis, of the value of our policies.*

If we have riding associations which aren't well enough organized that they can themselves produce sound, reliable candidates with roots in those ridings, should we seriously consider not running candidates there at the present time -- and instead get busy helping those riding associations to develop?

4. THE FACT THAT THE GREATEST ACTIVITY OF THIS PARTY REVOLVES AROUND ELECTION CAMPAIGNS.

Most of our energy, talent and money is directed towards election campaigns. Many of our members and supporters are completely inactive except at election time. If elections continue to be the culmination of our efforts, we must consider ourselves failures!

5. FEELINGS OF ALIENATION BY MANY WOMEN IN THE PARTY.

We think that this is in part due to a lack of understanding of the historical causes of women's unequal status and oppression under capitalism. We note too, though, that the behaviour and attitudes of many male Party members are not consistent with the declared philosophy of the New Democratic Party.

That we, with our ringing phrases about equality and an end to exploitation, appeal to fewer women voters than men is a fact deserving analysis.

6. OUR LACK OF APPEAL TO WORKING CLASS PEOPLE, INCLUDING TRADE UNIONISTS.

Our problem is not that we are dominated by trade unionists! Instead, either our interests are not coinciding or we are not communicating. A socialist programme does not seem to appeal to trade union spokesmen, but it is our contention that trade unionists, like almost all workers, *would respond in time to a clear, thorough socialist programme.*

7. THE APPARENT GROWTH OF BUREAUCRACY WITHIN OUR PARTY.

It doesn't win more votes. It doesn't -- despite the energy expended in clever campaigns and unusual prizes -- gain more members. Nor educate. Nor result in better policy. Nor encourage rank-and-file members to run as candidates. Nor lighten the work-load of active members. Nor result in better organization in those ridings which most need assistance. But it sure costs money! In what way is it worth it?

8. THE CHIEF ROLES OF THE LEADER AND PRESIDENT AS HOUSE LEADER AND ADMINISTRATOR RESPECTIVELY.

The work of our leader in the House is frequently given no publicity outside the House. In any event, the real action is mostly outside the House.

Couldn't others take over some of the responsibilities of the leader and president? We have plenty of talent in this Party, inside and outside the House.

We suggest that both our leader and president, who must be among our most articulate spokesmen, spend a greater share of their time in the ridings, with rank-and-file members, local media, citizens' groups.

9. THE FACT THAT MANY PEOPLE TODAY ENTER, LEAVE, RE-ENTER, QUIT, OUR PARTY.

We wonder if our Party has the honesty and integrity it once had. We believe that it used to require a major decision to join -- a decision about, for example, the nature of capitalism, the need for social welfare measures, the possibility of spreading responsibility for government and decision-making among greater numbers of people, the value of economic planning, the limits of freedom. We admit that we may be merely nostalgic but in any event, we'd like to see a party that requires a major decision before joining.

10. THE LACK OF POLITICAL DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS WITHIN THIS PARTY.

WHEN IS THE LAST TIME YOU WENT TO A CONSTITUENCY MEETING WHERE YOU HEARD DISCUSSION OF POLITICS, POLITICAL ISSUES, POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY -- AS OPPOSED TO ORGANIZATIONAL DEBATE OR SPEECHES? Is it correct to assume that because members' hearts are in the right places that we can gloss over the substance of politics and deal almost exclusively with organization and finances? In many ridings the only time there is any political discussion is when convention resolutions are voted on. (And why so many resolutions which repeat or contradict existing Party policy?) What about the basic questions, such as the following:

*What is social democracy or democratic socialism? Are either of these something different from socialism? Do we have a philosophy that holds our policies together? If so, is our philosophy one no other party or organization can provide?*

Does "selective intervention" in the economy make any sense? Capital is mobile and can, presumably, flee from the economic sectors intervened in. Should we be talking about a planned economy instead?

What is the value of public ownership if the workers in publicly owned industries have no direct say in their operation?

We see too often the tragedy of old members -- some from C.C.F. days -- losing faith, and of new members losing patience. And not primarily because of electoral defeats, but because of the direction our Party is going in and its apparent silence between elections.

If the New Democratic Party continues its drift towards moderation at elections and conventions -- which has the effect of confusing us with liberals -- we shall disintegrate.



We believe that there is now a vacuum in Canadian politics, that this vacuum is on the left. The New Democratic Party can still fill that space, if we act now.

In signing this document we make no claim to having all the answers to problems besetting the Party. We call on all New Democrats to engage in a process of self-examination with a view to making our Party the powerful force it should be in Ontario politics. We consider it vital that the N.D.P. engage many more thousands of people in the political process -- in the unions, in the work places, in our communities.

Let us be clear. We regard the New Democratic Party as still the only legitimate political expression of the economic and social aspirations of Canada's working people. It is our wish to make it an effective one. We respect the constitution of the Party and the rights of all other members; we do not challenge the leadership or wish to constitute ourselves as an organized caucus. What we want is that serious New Democrats join us in debating serious problems in a serious way.

To this end we invite you to take this paper to your riding association for discussion.

We intend to publish this paper or another along these lines in the New Democrat.

If you have any comments or ideas on where we might go from here, or if you wish to add your name to ours, write to Mary Boyce, 60 Tranby Ave., Toronto.

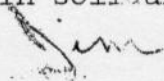
Mary Boyce  
Ed Boucher  
Elmer McVey  
Odourdo DiSanto  
Jack Rauhala  
Floyd Laughren, M.P.P.  
Ann Griffiths  
Elio Costa  
Cameron Hopkins  
Jan Duksza, M.P.P.  
Freda Hawkins  
Margaret La Framboise  
Jo-Ann Radford  
Kathy Grist

Jeanette Laughren  
Vince Del Buono  
John Rodriguez, M.P.  
Al Rimmer  
Jacques La Pointe  
Ed Seymour  
Marion Holder  
Monty Davidson  
Gerry Leroux  
Lee Zaslofsky  
Clayton Peterson  
Janice McArthur  
Mike Simon  
Josephine Lloyd

7.2

I would remind you that the next regular mailing to the List has a deadline of May 15. If you have anything you want included, send me 250 copies by that date.

In solidarity,



Jim Turk

P.S. What we can assemble of the Left Caucus in Ontario will meeting on the Saturday evening of the Provincial Council, 19 April, 8:00 pm, at the Dovercourt NDP Community Action Centre, 533A Gladstone Ave., a 3 minute walk from the Dufferin subway station (1 block east).

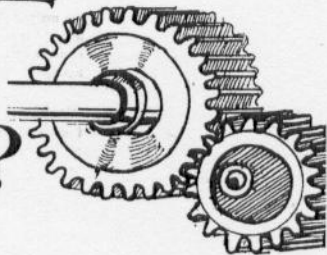
P.P.S. Two additional items in this mailing - Kidd's letters and Shaffer's article.



Scarborough New Democrats present:

*Found in 1980 - R. Dawson note (over)*

# WHITHER THE INDUSTRIAL HEARTLAND?



Saturday April 17 Alex Manoogian Cultural Centre  
30 Progress Court, Scarborough  
Markham Road, south of the 401

8:45 - 3:00

## The Participants:

Dan Heap, MP, Spadina  
Richard Johnston, MPP Scarborough West  
Michael Lyons, Executive Secretary, Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto  
Bob Nickerson, Executive Assistant to Bob White, United Auto Workers  
Lorne Nystrom, MP, Yorkton-Melville, Saskatchewan (to be confirmed)  
Zigmund Przetakiewicz, Solidarity  
Wayne Roberts, Professor of Labour Studies, McMaster University  
Don Taylor, Staff Representative, United Steelworkers of America

## The Issues:

The Role Municipalities Can Play in Economic Development  
People Services in a Time of Cutbacks  
A New Democratic Industrial Strategy  
Technology: Salvation or Ruination  
Struggle for an Alternative Society  
Industrial Democracy and Contract Negotiations in a Declining Economy

~~A light lunch will be available at a modest cost~~

### ADVANCE REGISTRATION

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

I am enclosing my \$6.00 registration fee \_\_\_\_\_.

Mail to: Whither The Industrial Heartland  
C/O 9 Kollar Drive  
Scarborough, Ontario M1G 1E3

Daycare needed? \_\_\_\_\_

Number of children \_\_\_\_\_

For more information call: Laura Pascoe (416)431-2652 or Jerry Daca 293-70.



SUMMARY OF THE LONDON AREA MEETING, May 15th.

*(Failed in 1980)*

After reviewing the proposed manufacturing strategy, our group came to the initial conclusion that we could not argue a consistent socialist line without arguing for the defeat of the resolution. All were in agreement that no amount of referring with amendments could turn this attempt to rationalize the operation of the capitalist system into a socialist document. Arguing for specific referrals would mean going along with the pretense that "industrial restructuring" is a reasonable response to the "serious structural problems in the Canadian economy".

This was our initial response, based solely on a discussion of the substance of the task force resolution. When we began to consider what we hoped to accomplish at the Convention our position changed. We concluded that our overall purpose is not to defeat or alter this particular resolution, but to educate within the party sufficiently that this type of paper cannot pass itself off as economic policy in the future. This purpose would be best served by referral to amend. In the limited time available on the Convention floor, we would end up arguing all over the paper, presenting at best a scattered and cluttered socialist line, if we attempted to demonstrate why the entire resolution should be scrapped. Much better to zero in on a couple of fundamental misconceptions in the paper and argue our position positively. Also in support of a referral to amend, while it is unlikely that anything we propose will pass, it is important to try to insert fragments of socialism into party policy to give us something to work with for the future.

For these reasons we would like to see instructions to refer which include a clear statement that private ownership, not foreign ownership, is the root of our economic problems. While foreign ownership may be a legitimate target for the left, the Task Force uses foreign ownership to argue that Ontario's problem is a retreat from industrialization. Therefore we have to spell out the real root of our problems. Our referral should also present social ownership as a means of redistributing power, not just a means of creating more of the bureaucracy with which the Task Force is preoccupied. Our group is particularly concerned that public ownership not simply shift power from the private sector to the State, but from the private sector to the working people of Ontario. There is no opening for inserting this concept into the resolution as it stands; but we must find a way to offer workers more than "improved career counselling" and help with their little co-ops. Our meeting was running over time when we reached this point, so we very quickly

considered the inclusion of workers' control under the catch-all section A (iv), Develop our human resources (with a different heading).

All other problems with the Task Force resolution are secondary or subsidiary to these fundamental weaknesses. This led the London group to favour focussing on the big issues of social ownership and working people's power, leaving the other side to discuss the specific mechanics of the system they propose.

Amendments denouncing private ownership and calling for workers' control are contrary to the spirit and letter of the Task Force. However, supporters of the Task Force are unlikely to openly oppose our referrals on the grounds that they are in direct conflict with the pro-capitalist slant of the resolution. This gives us considerable leeway to introduce strong socialist instructions for referral.

The Sudbury groups proposals could provide the basis for this type of referral with the following deletions and additions:

The introductory statement should include a clearer statement that private ownership, not foreign ownership, is the problem, and a singling out of the importance of social ownership of resources to any manufacturing strategy. We should also include some hint that the workers will get increased power under a socialist system.

For Section B(i), forest-related industries such as pulp and paper might be singled out along with mining machinery, given the importance of winning specific commitments to nationalization. Also, it's probably just a slip that "publicly-owned" was not inserted in front of Canadian automobile industry.

In Section C (iv), we wondered whether taking over only one firm in an industry such as the oil industry would have much impact on private ownership in that industry.

#### General comments:

The Task Force and the proposed resolution struck us as a mystification of the economy of Ontario. Since most delegates will not have taken the time to read it carefully enough to see through it, we must take every possible step to convince them that it is not they, but the Task Force proposals which are inadequate. A written statement of our critique, probably shorter than those prepared by Simon and Harry, and definitely more detailed than our referral motion, should be available to all delegates.

And finally, we should be taking the time to consider other issues prior to the Thursday night of the Convention, particularly the issue of nuclear energy.

(Found in 1980-May)

Lois Bedard  
3 Hazelridge Drive  
Toronto, Ontario



## MEETING NOTES: Hamilton and Sudbury

### Hamilton Regional Meeting

1. There was considerable concern expressed about the preamble and the general objectives. Amendments were not proposed because we were not sure these sections can be changed at convention. (Note: they can be changed, JT).
2. RE; B. SPECIFIC MEASURES, Part 1, second paragraph  
change: public intervention and to "social ownership and selective"  
change i - iii to read as follows:
  - i) the creation of Crown corporations for the development of industries such as mining machinery, transportation and electrical equipment and other high technology areas.
  - ii) the creation of a public banking system with a mandate to develop as a leading financial institution
  - iii) the creation of crown corporations which will purchase the assets of a major monopolistic firm in each industrial sector.
3. Re: C. NATURAL RESOURCES  
CHANGE i) to: extract a much greater financial return from our resources and earmark these returns for the eventual purchase of the resource industry.  
ADD a new v) develop and police the industry in consultation with environmental specialists, labour and local communities.
4. Re: E. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PLANNING  
CHANGE the first line to read:  
"The central thrust of an ONDP government would be worker and public participation and control in a socially owned (democratically planned) economy which would be established by:"  
CHANGE the last line to read: This manufacturing strategy for Ontario recognizes that the solution requires moving toward social ownership and industrial democracy in the workplace.

\* \* \*

### Sudbury Regional Meeting

1. New paragraph 5 on page 1:  
"The NDP realizes the fundamental conflict between corporate and public interests that characterizes all of the western mixed enterprise economies. Consequently, in order to achieve our overall goals of full employment, industrial democracy, social and racial equity; environmental balance and economic justice, the NDP's goal is the public ownership of Canada's major economic institutions. The realization of this goal cannot however be fully achieved overnight and will involve an ongoing process of bringing these institutions into the public sector. In the first stage, an NDP government in Ontario will address the economic crisis through a manufacturing strategy based on the following policy instruments (which will be listed in declining order of importance): (a) a major expansion of public enterprise, (b) stimulating domestic industries, and (c) drawing the private sector within the sphere of public economic and social planning."

→ p. 2



P. 2

2. Page 2, Section B (1) "The creation of Crown corporations for the development of resource-related industries such as mining machinery and the development of high technology industries including electronics and communications and the creation of a Canadian automobile industry.
3. Page 5, Section iv: "Take into public ownership the dominant operating firm in each natural resource sector to promote the above aims and serve as the vehicles for expanding to full public ownership.

New Democratic Party Members,

Supporters of the NDP:

Please sign and have this petition signed around you.

Petitions will be submitted to the Parliamentary Caucus of the NDP.

We, the undersigned members and supporters of the New Democratic Party do not support leader Ed Broadbent's statement in Winnipeg in support of Carter's threatened armed intervention in the Middle East; re-institution of the draft and rekindling of the Cold War. We reaffirm our commitment to the New Democratic Party's policy to get out of the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance (NATO) and NORAD. We demand that the Federal Caucus also disassociate itself from Carter's sabre-rattling actions, and any commitment to NATO or NORAD.

First signers:

NAME

Wilbrad Champagne (Vancouver Kingsway)  
Linda Ruiz (Richmond-South Delta)  
Uziah Ruiz ( " )  
Elizabeth Khadikin (Vancouver East)  
Sylvia Weldon (Vancouver Centre)  
M. Searll (Vancouver North)  
Roger Prentice (Vancouver North)  
Peter Granton (Vancouver East)  
Wilfred Lawson (Burnaby)  
Darryl Adams (Vancouver East)  
Dorothy Drexel (Quadra)  
George Lai Thom (Vancouver Centre)  
Malcolm Crockett (Vancouver Centre)  
Lyle Osmundson (Richmond-South Delta)  
Lee Boyko (Richmond-South Delta)  
Liz Clarke (New Westminster-Coq.)  
Paul Watson (Vancouver South)  
Starlet Lum-Watson (Vancouver Centre)  
June Black (Vancouver Centre)  
Paul Latham (New Westminster-Coq.)  
I. Jaginco (Vancouver South)  
Dwayne Finlayson  
J. Cox (Vancouver Centre)  
Chris De Bresson (New Westminster-Coq.)  
H. Gilbert (Quadra)  
R. Jackson (Richmond-South Delta)  
H. Rosenfeld (Quadra)  
Steve Watson (Abbotsford)  
Anne Watson (Abbotsford)  
Ted Achtemichuk (Fraser Valley East)  
B. Minzs (Central Fraser Valley)  
J. Ekman (Fraser Valley East)  
W. Adams (Hope)

Aili Matson  
D. Smitheram  
Wayne Matson  
Pearl Olson  
Valerie Matson  
Violet Drew  
William Mason

*(Continued on p.2)*

J. Chausse  
Bruce Turner  
J.W. Westlin  
Mary Otto Beushaber  
W. Adams  
Joan Hutchinson  
Allan Crawshaw  
Emil W. Ginsharer

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COMPLETE OTHER SIDE &

RETURN TO: 5071 #6 ROAD, RICHMOND, B.C.

SEND COPY TO YOUR SITTING NDP MP, OR YOUR LOCAL  
CONSTITUENCY EXECUTIVE

PLEASE PRINT  
address

constituency

Name



## A BASIC FACT SHEET ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Carter says to the USSR: "One step more, and it's war!" Allan MacKinnon, Canada's former Defence Minister, said he had a contingency plan to send 16,000 troops to Germany available to combat in Afghanistan under United Nations or NATO command.

What are the sober facts:

The USSR and Afghanistan- the USSR has supported the Afghanistan regime for decades, since that country was the first to recognize the Soviet Union after the 1917 Revolution.

In 1972, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the Shah's secret police, the SAVAK, "worked inside the Afghan armed forces to dislodge pro-Soviet officers." By 1976, the army was purged. But in April, 1978, the CIA and SAVAK backed army and police went one step too far: they assassinated the editor of one of the main opposition papers and arrested all the others. Popular demonstrations, a short civil war, and the overthrow of the government ensued. All "Western" observers admit the USSR had no control, role, or even warning of this revolution.

the Washington Post revealed the CIA had been arming counter-revolutionary forces at least since December 1979. Who are these forces? Previous land-owners, the Mosahiban ruling family; the Muslem mulas who see their sphere of influence being encroached on by government. Semi-nomadic bands (14% of the population) who live in the mountains, live off banditry and the transportation of opium the land-owners supply. They see all government presence as a threat to their way of life. The revenue from the opium trade is used to purchase arms in Pakistan when they are not already supplied by the CIA. (Washington Post, MacLeans, April 30, 1979, and Counter Spy Volume 4, No. 1 - a U.S. based journal exposing U.S. Intelligence activities.)

The U.S. government is trying to defend "American interests" of multinational oil corporations in the Mid East and with them reactionary regimes; when they fail - as they did in Iran - they foster civil war and arm right-wing counter revolutionary forces.

Such is the "thrust and determination of the Carter Doctrine" - which in fact is only an update of the Nixon Doctrine.

What does this have to do with Canada:

What interests do we have in defending Canadian General Motors' exports, and the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce's interest on loans in Iran? (Financial Times, January 21)

What interests do we have in seeing private land ownership of poppy fields in Afghanistan maintained, instead of having the land distributed to the peasants who farm it?

What interests do we have in Canada's present commitment to the North Atlantic Alliance or the United Nations? This could get us involved in war in the Mid East.

The way to counter blatant militarism is to appeal to the peace and anti-war sentiments in the working people of this country.

Socialists can discuss amongst themselves whether or not the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan promotes or not the social transformation of the Mid East. But this is not the issue. Is the Canadian government going to be a part of American imperialistic actions in the Mid East?

How we counter these hawkish gestures on the part of opportunistic politicians is the task before us.

CONTINUED...

ARE THESE THE TYPES OF DEMOCRATIC ACTIONS "WESTERN DEMOCRACIES"  
ARE BEING ASKED TO DEFEND:

#### AMERICAN INTERVENTIONS

- 1898 the united states acquires the philipines, Guam and  
Pueto Rico thru interventions
- 1906 intervention in Cuba which lasted untill 1908
- 1911 " " Honduras
- 1912 " " Nicaragua
- 1913 " " Honduras
- 1914 " " Dominican Republic
- 1914 occupation of Vera Cruz , Mexico
- 1915 intervention in Haiti which lasted untill 1934
- 1916 " " Dominican Republic
- 1919 " " Russia in an attempt to reverse the revclution  
which was seen as a threat to capitolism.
- 1926 " " in Nicaragua
- 1953 U.S. Forces install the Shah in Iran and bolster that  
right wing dictatorship for the next twenty six years.
- 1954 interntion in Gautemala and the overthrow of the Arbenz  
government.
- 1958 Intervention in Lebonon untill a right wind govenment is  
put in power.
- 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion in Cuba
- 1964 intervencion in Brazil
- 1964 " gulf of Tonkin Resolution " which leads to a further  
esculation of the Viet Nam intervention. We I'm sure all  
rember this staged action.
- 1965 intervention in the Dominican Republic
- 1965 overthrow of the Sukarno Government in Indonesia.
- 1973 American Corporate and government activities in Chile  
lead to a Right-Wing government universally reognized  
as one of the most ruthless.

While this is only a partial list of American manipulation  
of world affairs it does give an impression that it is an  
onging policy. Are these the type of actions we want to be aling-  
ed with? Are these the type of " western Democratic " actions we  
are being asked to defend?

Canada's last defence minister threatend to use NATO troupes  
in Aaganistan if needed. Do we really want to remain in  
this US. defence agreement?

May 1980

(Found in 1980 - Left Caucus ONDP)

Dear Friends:

This is the first mailing to those who signed the list of participants at the Left Caucus (Social Ownership Caucus) at the Federal Convention. We are sorry it was delayed a bit, but the federal election caught us by surprise too.

Included in this mailing is the list of all who signed the attendance sheets at our various meetings. Everyone on the list should be receiving this mailing. There are several people who simply put their hotel address during the convention. They are listed (minus the address). If you know any of their home addresses could you let Ruth Bleasdale know. Also if you spot any incorrect addresses, please let her know as well.

We hope that you will put the list to good use--sharing material and ideas coming out of your ridings and locals.

We intend to continue general mailings to the whole list. The collection at our last caucus meeting raised enough money to cover one more mailing. But further mailings will only be possible if we each contribute toward the cost of postage. Please send whatever you can to Ruth at the address below.

Our intention is to mail whatever you send us. Since our funds are only sufficient for postage, we must ask that you send as many copies as there are names on the list. We see ourselves as a clearing house and hope you will take advantage of this to circulate material of interest to socialist activists in our party.

Anything you want included in the next mailing should be sent to Jim Turk. The deadline is May 15, 1980.

We hope all is going well in your ridings in this election. One of our major jobs will be to take stock after the election and analyze the effect of the Party's approach which seems frequently to be an attempt to out liberal the Liberals.

In solidarity,

Ruth Bleasdale  
708 Platts Lane  
London, Ontario  
N6G 3B2  
(519) 438-8869

Simon Rosenblum  
415 Elm Street W.  
Apt. 8  
Sudbury, Ontario  
P3C 1W3  
(705) 673-8654

Jim Turk  
29 Bartlett Avenue  
Toronto, Ontario  
M6H 3E8  
(416) 535-2568



Our economy has been predominantly foreign owned for quite some time and during these decades has been--at least in comparative terms--relatively successful. Is it simply a matter of the chickens coming home to roost or is there a more fundamental change occurring in the world economy which is negatively affecting all western economies? Indeed our economy suffers from such structural distortions as the branch-plant truncated manufacturing sector and the trade deficit on technology. But the problem goes much deeper than specific distortions in the Canadian economy. Mass unemployment is, for example, experienced now by all capitalist countries as the multinationals move freely in order to cheapen labour costs and dictate economic restraint to the respective governments.

Just consider this remark, "Our rate of productivity growth lags behind most other industrialized nations. Our investment in research and development is declining relative to that of our major foreign competitors. Our once mighty industrial sector is pockmarked with aging plants and equipment." No, this comment is not in reference to the Ontario/Canadian economy. Rather it comes from United States Commerce Under-Secretary Luther Hodges. In many respects, the litany of American economic problems sound remarkably similar to those discussed in Canada.

By the early 1970's, American industry found itself in a profit squeeze. Because of drastically increased energy costs and intensified international competition, American business was receiving a lower rate of profit (Note: we are speaking of rate of return on investment, not aggregate profit figures). In response, capitalists became dead set against full employment or anything close to it. Why? Unemployment acts to limit workers' bargaining power and helps to keep wages down. The same phenomenon is at work in Canada. Trudeau himself has said that wage controls are not necessary now since unemployment restricts the unions' bargaining power. Or as John Grant, Vice-president of Wood Gundy Ltd., an investor's consulting firm, told a group of Calgary businessmen: "The present rate of unemployment is a very effective way of holding down the success ratio on bargaining claims."

So we have two main factors at work: (1) the profit squeeze in all western economies which "forces" corporations and governments to respond by inducing recession as a way of restraining labour costs, and (2) the ever-increasing "global reach" of the multinationals who move operations out of the industrialized nations in chase of more favorable environments in the "Third World."

Such is the predicament of both a foreign-owned economy like Canada or a domestically-owned economy as in the United States. Even West Germany, the "success story of modern capitalism" now has over one million unemployed and in addition has sent well over a million "guest workers" back to their country of origin. The multinationals have a new game plan and Canada doesn't figure prominently in it. All of the developed economies are facing increased competition from low-technology, labour-intensive operations in low wage non-unionized regions of the world like South-East Asia. The response to this by Western nations has generally been to shift workers into the higher technology sectors--but this is precisely where Canada is weak. Furthermore, the multinationals are internationally pressuring for lower tariffs and this will decrease the limited protection Canada now has. It seems we don't fit into the plans of the multinationals except in our good old-fashioned resource-base way. Meanwhile, there is a technical explosion taking place--what's called--the "micro-processing revolution". Tiny integrated circuits that can control much production automatically will soon be threatening many future jobs. As the multinationals are thus constructing a new international division of labour, capitalism will thrust the most upsetting effects of the weaker economies in the system on countries like Canada. The Ontario/Canadian economy does indeed have unique characteristics which threaten our economic prosperity but as we have seen this is basically a symptom of the larger structural changes occurring throughout all of the advanced capitalist countries. The multinationals, not nation-states, are running the world. "Not only in Canada you say. Pity."

Before proceeding to the main issue of the Task Force (Manufacturing) it is necessary to say a few words on the question of natural resources since we believe the Task Force's brief comments in this regard were especially off the mark.

The Task Force is correct in noting that our natural resources "are not a golden egg from which we can magically hatch the manufacturing industries we need...(and) socializing our resources is in itself not an industrial strategy." However, the Task Force tends to understate the important role that exploitation of Ontario's natural resources must play in the development of a coherent industrial strategy in which the economic surplus generated in the resource sector will be reinvested in job producing secondary industries tied to the resource base.



The political strategy on resources put forward by the Task Force is the creation of a provincial equivalent of Petrocan in each resource area. One could easily make a case (space does not permit it here) showing the small impact Petrocan has on our energy development and pricing, given that it must work side-by-side with the multinational oil corporations. Are we to suppose that nationalising Falconbridge Nickel will allow us to regulate and control Inco? Surely the tail does not wag the dog. The extreme difficulty of controlling Inco was shown by Ed Broadbent:

If Canada tries to increase its tax take and employment from nickel extraction, Inco simply threatens to expand elsewhere. The result is that a private company, by playing off country against country, can considerably increase its share of the overall benefits that should in fact belong to the people of the countries in which the resources are located.

We might also add that serious efforts to collect higher royalties from the resource multinationals will most likely result in their highgrading the ore (or forest) to compensate for the higher royalty payments. The company will sweep through an ore body, taking out only the higher-graded ores which, of course, are the most profitable. Since you cannot economically go back later, this significantly shortens the life-span of the resource and endangers the economic future of the particular community and the province/country at large.

Full public ownership of our resources is necessary for two basic reasons: (1) to capture the revenues generated from resource development. Eric Kierans, a past president of the Montreal Stock Exchange and past Liberal cabinet minister, clearly demonstrated in his report to the Manitoba government the large sums of money taken out as profits by the resource companies and the need for public ownership as the only effective measure to capture these funds for the public good. These profits could then be used to sustain our social services and/or as a foundation on which to build an industrial strategy. (2) to allow our resources to be used as "building blocks" in the development of an industrial strategy. Everyone is well aware of the very limited refining, processing, and manufacturing of our natural resources under the present multinational resource export system. The relevant economists' terms are "backward and forward linkages." By this is meant the interconnecting of resource development with the rest of the economy so that the products needed for resource exploitation (i.e., mining equipment) can in many instances be manufactured in Canada. It also means the development of the necessary technologies involved in the

further fabrication and manufacturing of our resources so that we can replace many of our imports by domestically produced goods. Obviously this cannot be done in every instance, but it is the stuff on which an industrial strategy grows. Public ownership of natural resources is necessary so that they may be a lever for development instead of the domain of multinational giants whose interests rarely, if ever, coincide with our own. It would be folly to suppose that the government could control the multinationals in a manner that would capture much more of the surplus generated in the resource sector and direct the multinationals in a manner leading to the necessary connections between resource exploitation and industrial development.

This brings us to the basic problem of controlling all of our economy. The Task Force's mandate was to largely deal with the manufacturing sector and its "de-industrialization." Their solution is basically regulation of the multinationals involved in manufacturing and the transformation--through government stimulation--of medium size Canadian manufacturing concerns into large operations so that they may equally compete with and gradually displace the foreign-owned multinationals. (Wishful thinking to say the least.)

Only major corrective surgery in the form of a determined assault on the bastions of corporate power can begin to turn the corner on economic underdevelopment and high inflation. And only by a substantial rebuilding of our economy will it be possible to broaden the tax base so as to be able to halt cutbacks and maintain an adequate level of social services. The Task Force proposes to develop the economy by means of planning agreements with the corporations "so that the investment decisions of the private sector contribute to the creation of a balanced economy."

Many in the NDP believe that the question of who owns the assets of the large corporations is irrelevant because government can shape their decisions through legislation and regulation. To a small degree, corporations can be manipulated to act in the public interest. But so long as they remain the middle man between our productive interests and our needs, the corporations are always in a position to either name the bribe necessary to induce them to perform or, as sometimes happens, to simply refuse any bribe. There is no conspiracy here. Governments which accept the necessity of private ownership of industry, regardless of the party in office, must give priority to creating what is called a "favourable investment climate." That means biasing the laws, the tax system and government spending to suit the needs of business in the hope that this will induce them to expand production and hire more workers.

effective solution to the serious economic problems facing us today. Through public ownership we can take the key sectors of the economy into our own hands and develop it qualitatively in the interests of human well-being. Public ownership would become a tool of rational and humane economic and social planning as opposed to the current situation where it occurs when pro-business governments opposed to serious economic planning wish to bail out declining businesses or to provide cheap and essential services (hydro, transport, etc. ...) for industry. Public ownership can only work when the government in question is truly committed to performing much more than a caretaker role. Furthermore--and this point is crucial--effective participation by the people who work for them and by the community can insure that social ownership forms an attractive and essential part of Canadian life.

In conclusion, it is necessary to remind those who argue that the problem is simply foreign ownership to examine the United States (with little foreign ownership) to see that it shares many of Canada's serious economic difficulties. Foreign ownership is only an element of our problem with private ownership. To those who propose planning agreements with business as a way to curb corporate power, it must be pointed out that the experience in Britain and Sweden has not been satisfactory and the labour movements in these countries now are pushing for a clearer and more substantial socialism. The Task Force may say that the NDP's planning agreements will go beyond simple regulation and direct the economy. Unfortunately, the distinction between "regulate" and "direct" is more of intent than effect.

The Task Force's proposals of sponsoring medium size Canadian-owned private corporations and forming planning agreements with the dominant corporate sector can unfortunately be characterised as "capitalism through the back door." In its place, a long journey through the institutions of society is proposed here. It will be a difficult march but it will have a clear destination in sight. Democratic socialism can only be entered through the front door.



GNP Left Caucus (Found in 1980)

To All NDP Members:

At the recent Federal Convention, a debate took place on Quebec which I believe was confused and misunderstood. A resolution put forward by the Federal Council of the party which did not explicitly allow Quebec the right to self-determination was passed by a large majority. What are the consequences of such a decision?

Let me begin by noting the major misunderstanding. Ed Broadbent, and others, when arguing against a self-determination amendment, maintained that the NDP should continue to express the hope that Quebecers would choose to remain part of Canada. I have nothing against such a sentiment. In fact, such a viewpoint was part of my Riding Association's resolution. But that was not what the issue was really about.

The point of difference should have been made clearer: whether or not Quebec has the right to self-determination and what exactly that means. Our federal leadership does say that Quebec should have "the right to make their choice without coercion". However, that falls short because it still permits the party to participate in national referendums which will limit and restrain Quebec's decision. All but two of our seventeen NDP M.P.'s supported Trudeau's Referendum Bill last year, and that action very much suggested that our party does not support Quebec's absolute and unilateral right to democratically make and carry out its own choice.

A number of important organizations have already taken strong positions in support of Quebec's democratic right to self-determination--the United Church of Canada and the United Steelworkers of America among them. CUPE's National Convention adopted a resolution to "reaffirm in practice" their support for Quebec's national rights by opposing any cross-Canada referendum on Quebec and urging boycott of all companies that utilize economic blackmail against Quebec.

The NDP's influence in Quebec has weakened considerably. Our percentage of the federal vote in Quebec has declined 50% over the last 10 years. Because we fear accusations of being "soft on separatism" we have not made ourselves relevant to the changes going on inside Quebec and have not given Quebecers reason to trust us or believe that we are different from the Liberals or Tories in regards to their aspirations. Meanwhile, the Rhinoceros

ONDP  
J. Turk  
Caucus

I have tried to summarize my reactions to the convention in an article that I think will be published in a coming issue of Canadian Dimension. Rather than repeat that here, I would like to suggest some lessons I feel we can draw from the convention.

1. Our limited success was quite impressive given the little preparation we made before the convention. Although I seriously doubt that we can change the NDP into a socialist party, I do feel we can fight our case more effectively. If we develop contacts with each other and use the enclosed list to circulate material and resolutions, we can come to future conventions better prepared and with as widespread a riding and local base as possible.

This will require each of us to make that extra effort to keep in touch, to share what our ridings and locals are doing, and to feel some obligations to let the rest of the sections of the country know what is happening in our area.

2. Our caucus functioned as smoothly as it did because we were resolutely non-sectarian. I feel strongly that if the Left in the Party comes to be identified with any one section of the Left, we are doomed. How we can continue to rise above the sectarianism that divides most left organizations is a problem for all of us to consider.

As a start, I think it is essential that we avoid forming any apparent or real alternative organization within the Party. We must remain riding and locally based, and, insofar as possible, speak and act through our ridings/locals. Committees, executives, newsletters, coordinating bodies--they all raise the question of who's represented and who's in control. They also give the Right a target to shoot at (as we know from our not too distant past).



MANUFACTURING

SUBJECT : THE MANUFACTURING TASK FORCE RESOLUTION ON A ~~AN~~ INDUSTRIAL STRATEGY FOR ONTARIO

The Ottawa meeting discussed the task force's proposed resolution as well as the suggested amendments submitted by Nicklebelt. Generally we favoured major revisions to both of these proposals.

Preamble of Task Force's " a Manufacturing Strategy for Ontario "

Ottawa's comments.

Paragraph four should be made stronger more in line with the first sentence of the paragraph.

Reference was made to using the phrase commanding heights strategy as a useful way of conceptualizing the strategy.

In both the Sudbury amendment and the task force resolution there should be a distinction between small, medium and large enterprises in the private sector.

It was agreed that the Sudbury suggestion for a new paragraph five should be amended after the (A). to read "a major expansion of the public sector based on the creation and take over of major enterprises in the manufacturing and resource sectors "

refer to page 13 second paragraph of the Wilson Heights document. Essence of that should be put in the preamble.

General Objectives

Part 1 - There was a debate on import replacement as a strategy but as this was a technical argument we decided to leave it in for now. ( refer to Prairie Capitalism by Richards and Pratt )

- Conclusion was part one is O.K.

Part 2 - O.K. except man made fibers should be changed to synthetic fibers.

Part 3 - O.K.

Part 4 - after the words workers benefit add the words " and control of "

Specific Measures

Part 1 - amend title to Public Control or Controlling Interest

There was a suggestion to strike B (ii) and ( iii )

It was agreed that there is too much emphasis on minority participation in document. We would like to see it removed. PART II

It was agreed that the approach to small business is to open ended. We think the path to industrial advancement is in the creation and nationalization of large corporations not through small business. We still feel there is a role for relief to small business and for provision of venture capital. Equity is ownership and it should be used more effectively.

-\* strategy cannot be predicated on small business.

Part 3 \*

- O.K. except reservations on (ii) and (v)

- (vi) after information add " adequate distribution to public agencies " .

Part 4

O.K.

Part 5

- We cannot support (i) (ii) (iii) (iv)

- (v) is O.K.

- amend (iv) if feasibility study is good the government will nationalize closing operation under workers control.

- amend (iii) " offer to government " not to any buyer.

Natural resources

- (iv) accept Nicklebelt amendment but add "(s) " after the word firm

Ontario Crown Investments Corporation

- O.K.

Economic and Social Planning

- O.K. Last line should be amended to ..... " moving towards social ownership and the control of our economy " .

*(Formed in July 1980)*

## Provincial Convention Analysis

Simon Rosenblum

### Part I: Two Tactics Toward Socialist Democracy Revisited

The June ONDP convention was a disaster for the left. Many of you were there and hopefully managed to get back to your ridings without being tarred and feathered. The Manufacturing Task Force was obviously the main issue of the convention and it is here that the Left Caucus received considerably less support than we have obtained since some of us formed the caucus over two years ago.

What went wrong? As you know the Left Caucus had two proposals before it: the Toronto and Sudbury/London strategies. The former was chosen by our caucus by a two to one vote. I am, of course, not exactly an innocent bystander but I feel more strongly than ever that Left Caucus made an enormous error in judgement and that if we don't radically change our tactics our future success in the NDP will be limited.

By choosing the Toronto strategy we tried to largely rewrite the Task Force and placed a very lengthy document in the convention delegates' hands to that effect. The delegates were not in any way prepared to basically switch documents and were quite confused (often disinterested or intolerant) by our attempts. And the vote clearly revealed the bankruptcy of our decision. The Left Caucus referral received at best 20 per cent of the vote. During the convention somewhere between 150-175 people attended a Left Caucus meeting (this was most encouraging and bodes well for the future if we play our cards correctly) but only approximately 225-250 delegates voted for our proposal. Obviously we are not effectively communicating with many people besides ourselves - the dangers of a vanguard approach?

Please keep in mind that at the previous Federal and Provincial conventions Left Caucus was able to win over one third of the delegates on socialism vs. reformed-capitalism votes. And we could have again with the Sudbury/London strategy of amending the Task Force in three crucial areas so that the commitment to socialism and immediate large scale public ownership in both the manufacturing and resource sectors was clear. I personally was told by four center-left riding delegations that they would have supported the Sudbury/London amendments but could not vote for the Toronto Left Caucus proposal. That's about fifty votes right there and there is good reason to believe that there were plenty more votes to be won. But we decided not to communicate with the center of the party and we lost them. And if we can't win over the center of the NDP I wonder how successful we are going to be with the working class in general.

Why did Left Caucus make the decision to go with the Toronto strategy? I'm not sure and would really like to know why many of you chose as you did. One comment I heard over and over again by people supporting the Toronto strategy was "I can't live with many of the points in the Task Force" As if we were writing legislation! Well you will have to live with much worse for some time and no doubt will continue on struggling. We might have - via the Sudbury/London strategy - substantially changed the terms of reference of the Task Force and at a minimum would have maintained the momentum that Left Caucus had been generating up till then.

I realize that this might sound somewhat like a "I told you so" letter and if so I apologize. However, at some point the choice of tactics connotes a difference of strategy and I suspect that point has arrived and the possibility for potential victory for the NDP hangs in the balance. Bringing the NDP over to a socialist politics is going to be difficult enough without Left Caucus making defeat a self-fulfilling prophecy.

→ p. 2



(Revised in July 1980)

The recent ONDP convention showed the left to be in its most favourable position in eight years. At the council meeting on the eve of the convention, we fought well in defending the censure of the federal party for violating our foreign policy during the 1980 campaign. We presented a viable and coherent socialist alternative to the Task Force on Manufacturing. Most importantly, we had over 250 delegates in our Left Caucus--most of whom were rank and file delegates participating in the Left Caucus for the first time.

The leadership was forced to take account of the growing left support, most obviously by its massive effort to organize against us before and during the convention. Their efforts succeeded, as we were hard pressed to get more than 25-30% of the vote on any straight left-right fight.

The success of their organization in part reflects some strategic errors on our part. It is clear that we should have begun organizing for a socialist industrial strategy, and against the Task Force, a year ago. We should have circulated alternative resolutions among all ridings by January. As it was, no last minute attempts to counter the Task Force's inadequacies could overcome the legitimacy it had acquired over the months it was not challenged.

But we must come to terms with a more fundamental and significant reason for the leadership's success. It is a reflection of the fact that they, and not we, represent the real policy positions of the majority of riding and local delegates.

The use of task forces has become one of a number of means by which the party membership is being de-politicized and made passive. Task forces serve to make policy a matter for "experts", removing the majority of party members from policy development.

Preserving a central role for the ridings in the development of policy is crucial, and a significant democratic issue in itself. But this kind of participatory party democracy is also essential to our role in helping create a democratic socialist society. Substituting good policy for bad cannot make up for a passive, de-politicized membership. If we are to adopt and implement a socialist NDP platform, we will have to preserve and enlarge our democratic practices and the role of the ridings.

The creation of a democratic socialist society in Canada will require the active participation and support of the working class and their engagement in workplace and community struggles. Working people and the unemployed, the young and the old, have formed the basis for winning democratic and social gains by uniting to defend themselves. As the major political force representing the working class, the NDP must encourage and aid workers in their struggles, not only in the trade unions. It must particularly lend assistance where issues are of immediate concern at the local level. Our top priorities in building democratic socialism must be ensuring active democratic practices in the party and in society.

These goals can best be achieved by focusing our work on riding and local union based activity. Ridings are the organ of the party most integrated into the community, and best able to initiate activities of local concern as well as organize locally in conjunction with larger movements. It is through ridings that we can best reach and involve working people who would not ordinarily have identified with the NDP. It is also through ridings that we can best activate NDP supporters.

Similarly, we must make our local unions more politically active. Ridings can encourage their own union members to be more active in local union affairs. Ridings can also undertake support activities for union struggles and help initiate and support organizing drives in area workplaces.

Working on policy primarily at a riding level ensures that the arguments for a socialist policy take place among the broadest base of the NDP membership; for it is only in ridings that the less active members have a chance to participate in policy discussions. The widest possible participation in policy debate is the only way we can ensure support within the party for socialist policies when they are adopted at Convention. It is also the best way to make sure that those of us presently arguing for socialist policies do not become politically irrelevant or personally isolated

Riding work also shows that we are concerned with building the party, not just with changing its direction. We belong to the NDP because it is the party of working people in Canada. If our progress is slow, it reflects the realities of political development in a capitalist society.

The direction of Left Caucus activity should be to facilitate the involvement of Left Caucus members in their ridings and locals. We can do this by:

- 1) continuing the left mailings so that there is a free exchange of ideas and information on activities within the left of the NDP. We should set up a rotation of ridings and areas to be in charge of the mailings. Mailings should take place quarterly.

- 2) developing socialist positions on topical issues and questions that are of interest within the party. It is particularly important that people who have the time and opportunity put together fact/background sheets that support a socialist perspective on issues. This is a real necessity for individuals who are presently isolated within their ridings, so that they can present and defend socialist alternatives in as informed a manner as possible.

In the near future we can be sure that the bulk of the membership will continue to support the policies of the leadership, because these policies reflect the membership's present political positions. It is fallacious to assume that better organization on our part will change these positions. Instead, change will only come because of our grass roots work to increase members' involvement in concrete political struggles--involvement which will increase activity within the party and provide a context for looking at the necessity of socialist policies.

Centralization of NDP policy and leadership is serving to undermine democracy and to de-politicize our membership. This creates inactivity and lessens the involvement of the NDP in community and workplace concerns.

At the same time, centralization of the left will not serve our needs for political development. It, too, will lessen rank and file involvement, and further isolate us from the bulk of party members. Slow growth within the ridings and locals may offer few immediate rewards, but its effect will be cumulative. Demonstrating our relevance to the everyday and long term interests of working people while presenting a socialist perspective on party policy, through ongoing work in our ridings, is our best chance for building a socialist party. It is not enough to have socialist resolutions passed at convention. We must have a rank and file that supports these resolutions when they come under attack. We will only have a socialist party when we have a party of socialists.

George Conninell  
Ross Sutherland  
Jim Turk



RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY OTTAWA WEST NDP

*(found in LC folder)*

JANUARY 26, 1981 - ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

CREATING A CANADIAN CONSTITUTION

Whereas the Constitution of a country is not a subject of legislation like any other; and

Whereas the provisions of a constitution must be proposed by, considered by, and subject to the decision of all the people; and

Whereas the current constitutional impasse presents Canadians with an unparalleled opportunity to begin to engage each other in an exciting process of discussion of the future of Canada; and

Whereas the NDP is expected, by a variety of groups and classes of Canadian society, to lead in the exercise of democratic participatory government,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT

The NDP express its disapproval of the procedure currently being used to force Canada into the adoption of a constitutional document; and that

The NDP withdraw all support from the current attempt at constitution-making; and that

The NDP encourage the current Government of Canada to abandon the Joint Resolution now before Parliament; and that

The NDP encourage the creation of a community-based process of discussion about Canada, its past, present, and future, leading to the creation of a popularly-elected constituent assembly charged with the production, within a reasonable period of time, of a constitution appropriate to the present and future needs of the people of Canada.

Woodsworth-Irvine Socialist Fellowship

Box 1602

Edmonton, = Alberta

(May 27, 1981)

27

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1981

MONTREAL



John Darling  
40 Homewood Av. Apt. 911  
Toronto, Ontario  
M4Y 2K2

LC#1

1981

ATTENTION: ONTARIO LEFT CAUCUS MEMBERS

In the last mailing, Dan Heap circulated a letter arguing against the left caucus fielding a candidate in the upcoming ONDP leadership campaign. Dan's basic point was that "the question of policy will not be on the agenda" of the leadership race, which will focus instead on such matters as "popularity and electability". Dan argued that left caucus should not field a candidate but rather should devote its energies to urging changes in party policy, "regardless of the leader".

We strongly disagree. While recognizing that major changes in the political direction of the party are required, we maintain that it would be suicidal for the left to pretend that we can talk "policy" while the rest of the party is talking "leader". On the contrary, it is precisely within the context of the leadership campaign that the future direction of the party will (or at least should) be decided. If, as Dan says, "the question of policy will not be on the agenda" of the leadership campaign, then it is our responsibility to put it there. And this can only be done by participating in the leadership campaign -- not by avoiding it.

For the next few months, the attention of ONDP members will be gripped by the leadership race. If we of the left abstain, we will in effect be ghettoizing ourselves, implying that the important question of leadership is none of our concern. Discussing policy resolutions simply will not be where it is at in the leadership convention -- choosing a new leader will be. That is why we cannot afford to "stay in left field" but rather must get involved in the race and insist that questions of policy not be ignored by the leadership hopefuls.

We believe that it is naive to assume that the leader does not influence policy decisions. While the leader may not actually establish policy, the position the leader takes on any given policy proposal carries a lot of weight with rank and file members. Moreover, the leader is directly involved in implementing and presenting party policy and, as we have recently seen, can play a major role in manipulating the apparent direction and focus of the party regardless of what the policy book says.

→ P. 2

# PLANS FOR SEPTEMBER CONFERENCE OF LEFT CAUCUS

Dear fellow leftists:

The agenda committee met in Toronto on June 21st and put together the following "bare-bones" agenda for the upcoming Left Caucus Conference on September 26th and 27th. We are sending you a copy for several reasons. Firstly, we want to remind you to keep that weekend open so that you can attend the conference. Secondly, we would like to hear any comments or criticisms you may have before the agenda is finalized. And thirdly, we need your help in "fleshing" the agenda out. Please send (or phone) your comments or suggestions to:

Ruth Bleasdale, 708 Platts Lane, London (519)-438-8869  
Phil Brown, 745 Regent St. South, Sudbury, P3E 3Y7 (705)-674-9396  
Wayne Roberts, 7 Carr St. Court, Toronto, (416)-363-4857  
John Bullen, 2-256 Flora St., Ottawa, K1R 5R9 (519)-563-1095  
Peter Hutton, 6 Four Winds Pl., Dundas, Ont. (416)-628-6135

Our committee will be meeting again on July 18th, 1981, to finalize the agenda, so we would appreciate your comments well before that date, preferably no later than July 15th.

## PROPOSED AGENDA

"Left Caucus Conference on Political Action"

Saturday, September 26th, 1981

- AM (1) Policy - workshops on specific policy areas  
- development of "model" resolutions in workshops intended ultimately for circulation and presentation at Provincial Convention  
- plenary session to finalize and endorse resolutions
- (2) Plans for Action - rebuilding the ONDP at the grass-roots  
- workshops on various aspects of the role of the left in riding reconstruction

PM (2) Plans for Action (continued) - plenary session

- (3) Presentations to Campaign Review Committee  
- workshops according to specific interest areas developing submissions to the ONDP Review Committee Task Forces, possibly focusing on some or all of the subject areas to be covered by the Task Forces - i.e. Finance, Media & Polling, Labour, Central, Political Preparation, Municipal Activity, Northern, Target Groups, Developing Ridings and Organization.  
- plenary session

Sunday, September 27th, 1981

- AM (1) Leadership Race - could include inviting candidates to speak  
- closed-door discussion in plenary session about the involvement of the left in the leadership campaign.
- PM (2) Future of Left Caucus - workshops dealing with such matters as:- the role of the left in rebuilding the party  
- the organization of left caucus  
- plenary session



# MINUTES OF MEETING OF LEFT CAUCUS AGENDA COMMITTEE

TORONTO, JUNE 21ST, 1981

## Present:

Wayne Roberts, 7 Carr St. Court, Toronto (363-4857)  
John Bacher, 134 Church St., St. Catharines (684-4834)  
Vi Thompson, 22 Dentonia Park Ave., Toronto, M4C 1W7 (699-7619)  
Barbara Martin, 5 Brighton St., London (433-0244)  
Ruth Bleasdale, 708 Platts Lane, London (438-8869)  
Dan Heap, 29 Wales Ave., Toronto (363-7804)  
Peter Hutton, 6 Four Winds Pl., Dundas, Ont. (628-6135)  
Andy Nicholson, RR#2, Hawkestone, L0L 1T0 (487-3412)  
John Bullen, 2-256 Flora St., Ottawa, K1R 5R9 (563-1095)  
Phil Brown, 745 Regent St. South, Sudbury, P3E 3Y7 (674-9396)  
Joanne Jackson " " " " " " " "

## Regrets:

Michelle Meyer, 689 Shaw St., Toronto, (535-6899)

## Election of Officers:

Chairperson - Ruth Bleasdale (acclaimed)  
Secretary - Phil Brown (acclaimed)

Agenda: (1) Attendance & Introductions  
(2) Toronto proposal - discussion  
(3) Ottawa proposal - discussion  
(4) How to proceed

### (2) Toronto proposal

Dan Heap presented the Toronto proposal. A short discussion followed and it was decided to also consider Ottawa proposal on the grounds that the two need not be mutually exclusive.

### (3) Ottawa proposal

John Bullen presented the Ottawa proposal. Dan Heap disagreed with the emphasis of the Ottawa proposal; arguing that the conference should concentrate more on "action" -- getting on with rebuilding the ONDP and developing a strong voice at the grass roots of the party. Dan expressed concern that trying to get all the left together to prepare one brief will end up wasting a lot of time arguing. If we organize as one structure, we open ourselves up to attack from the "right".

Wayne Roberts suggested a compromise package, outlined as follows:

Sat. AM - Policy - workshops on specific areas  
- develop "model" resolutions  
- plenary session to finalize and endorse



Sat. PM - Presentations to Committee - workshops according to specific interest areas  
- plenary session

Sun. AM - Leadership - could include inviting candidates to speak  
- discussion on role of left (probably all in plenary session)

Sun. PM - Future of Left Caucus - 2 groups of workshops dealing with all of the following issues:  
- Ideas for rebuilding party  
- Organization of left  
- plenary session

Phil Brown suggested that perhaps leadership discussion might have to be shortened and "future" discussion started in the morning.

Dan Heap still found the emphasis unsatisfactory. A discussion followed during which Wayne Roberts suggested dividing the first day into 3 parts and adding "Plans for action" as a new part 2. Dan Heap would prefer to put "Action Reports" in Sat. AM, "Rebuilding" in Sunday AM, "Policy Task Force" in Sat. PM and "Leadership" & "Future" discussions in Sunday PM. "Action" refers to what members are doing and would like to do in Ridings. "Rebuilding" would focus on Riding Associations.

Phil Brown moved accepting Wayne's proposal as modified in the manner suggested by him (see attached draft outline of agenda) -- carried, with Dan Heap in opposition.

#### (4) How to Proceed

It was agreed that the name of the Conference would be the "Left Caucus Conference on Political Action."

It was pointed out that Ross Sutherland of the arrangements committee would like the agenda in his hands by August 1st.

Dan Heap suggested that the agenda should be mailed out for comment to as many as possible and that we have a further meeting to finalize the agenda in late July.

It was agreed to send a "bare bones" agenda to all Ontario Left Caucus members for their comment and input as to the "flesh" and to meet again as a committee on the 3rd Saturday in July -- July 18th, 1981 -- at 1 PM in Dan Heap's office in Toronto City Hall. Phil Brown will send a copy of minutes and "bare-bones" agenda to Ruth Bleasdale who will copy agenda and forward to all Left Caucus members in Ontario.

The meeting adjourned for lunch at 3 pm.

(P. Brown notes - no instructions were given as to how members were to get their comments back to the committee, so I arbitrarily chose contact-persons on a geographic basis in order to minimize long distance costs.)

29 Bartlett Avenue  
Toronto, Ontario  
M6H 3E8

22 June, 1981

Dear Friends,

As you may know, the Alberta Woodsworth House donated \$1,000 to the Federal Left Caucus for 1980-81. We have some of that money left over, and the donors suggested that the balance be used to assist delegates to the Federal Convention who genuinely need help covering expenses.

Those of you who are delegates (not alternates) from your riding or local and who require assistance, please write to me. I will simply divide up the remaining money among those needing it.

I look forward to seeing all of you at our conference in September.

Fraternally,

Jim Turk

June 24, 1981

TO: LEFT CAUCUS SUPPORTERS - from Dan Heap

About 10 supporters met after the June 21 Provincial Council to talk over the agenda for the September 26-27 meeting. A big majority agreed on a tentative agenda which is being mailed to you for comment before the next agenda meeting, July 18, 1 p.m., Toronto City Hall.

This is the report of the minority of one, agenda and rationale:

Saturday a.m. - workshops and plenary reporting on local riding and union direct extra-parliamentary action for NDP goals, devising new networks of cooperation and mutual support.

Saturday p.m. - plenary discussion of the election, the Election Review process, the leadership campaign, leading to proposals for provincial action.

Sunday a.m. - workshops and plenary on problems of local organization from a socialist viewpoint: how do we engage new people in actions that give them and us the opportunity to reflect politically and learn socialism?

Sunday p.m. - decisions on the future of the Left Caucus including organization, the leadership campaign, convention strategy, and further Left Caucus meetings.

I believe an agenda like this will better meet the needs and goals of the Left Caucus than will the majority choice. Here is why:

The main weakness I find in the proposed agenda is that it directs our effort too much at the superstructure of the ONDP. Emphasis on Policy, submissions to the Task Force on Election Review, leadership, and structure of the Left Caucus draws us to each other but separates us from the NDP and union rank and file. What we need rather is to focus on developing our ideas and action locally, while we keep in touch with each other on overall goals. We need to help each other to build up healthy socialistic grassroots action and organization.

Naturally we see our chief political contests defined in debates over policy, election strategy, and leadership. Naturally we feel a deep need to meet each other for refreshment and reinforcement. Naturally we feel the need of a firm structure by which we can mobilize and concentrate our supporters and our ideas to combat the patterns of mistakes we see in the right-wing leadership of the party. This way leads to clear short-run satisfaction.

However it may lead also to long-run self-defeat. This way of spending our volunteer time often cuts us off from our fellow members of riding associations and unions. Many of us are tempted to go for "talking" positions rather than "working" positions. We like to be delegates to this and that, to control party education and publications, to hold voting positions on executives, steering committees and campaign committees; in other words we tend to seek positions that would not exist if many others did not accept the drudgery of membership campaigns, fund-raising, and election canvassing. Those who do that work sometimes sense that we take them too much for granted, so that unintentionally we may alienate mass support we need.

Too narrow a focus on policy, election strategy and leadership debate also may plunge us into premature rivalries and power struggles, either with each other or with the right wing. On the other hand working at the general foot-slogging tasks of a socialist movement can help us keep a sense of humour and proportion.

Besides, when we give first priority to policy, election strategy and leadership we are likely never to get back to building grassroots action and organization. Between elections federal, provincial and municipal, conventions federal, provincial and municipal, riding association struggles, and a whole new set of Left Caucus meetings and structures too, we may never find time to associate with other rank-and-file New Democrats and trade unionists. Yet without trust between them and us no socialist movement can succeed.

That way not only do we fail to bring them to our way of thinking, not only do we ensure that we lose key decisions at conventions, but we also harden into the habit of seeing ourselves as a "party within the Party". I've been there once before. It's a dead-end.

Talking is fine. It's my hobby and profession. However one thing I learned by a year in the army and eighteen on the factory floor is that talking must interact with other kinds of action. It must arise out of other action and return to guide it.

Within the ONDP at this time I think this means that we ought to give our chief attention to applying our ideas at the grassroots. Apart from conventions and leaders, we must organize local NDP members to take direct extraparliamentary action directly for tenants' needs such as rent control. We can mobilize to help a striking union, oppose student fee hikes, demand more daycare and less fighter-planes, support native peoples, equal pay for work of equal value, and smaller class-size in schools, oppose police harassment of labour and minorities, build more affordable housing, and expose the rip-offs by the banks and the oil companies.

I'll keep pushing this view on July 18 and September 26 and 27. I'd like to hear from you.



TO: LEFT CAUCUS MEMBERS

Why We Favoured the Proposed Agenda - Ruth Bleasdale  
- Wayne Roberts

In drafting an agenda for the September Conference, the agenda committee has attempted to strike a balance between the need to increase our effectiveness as grassroots activists and the need to maintain the caucus' role in promoting socialist ideas. Dan's concern that the Conference focus adequate attention on grassroots action was shared by the committee as a whole, and we worked out a fair compromise agenda which recognizes the importance of local riding, union, and extraparliamentary activities.

At the same time, the committee is concerned that the September Conference address the immediate, fundamental challenges confronting the NDP. Our disastrous showing at the polls and the upcoming policy and leadership Convention combine to make this a period in which the party is being forced to re-examine its basic orientation and direction. Over the next few months the membership will review election styles and strategies, policy directions, and political leadership. We must participate fully in the debates around these important issues, and we must participate effectively, setting out coherent socialist policies and positions. The September Conference gives us the opportunity to work out these policies and positions, to pool our resources and turn our ideas into concrete proposals.

One of the peculiar strengths of socialists within the party has been our willingness to assume on-going responsibility at the local riding and grassroots level. This must continue and expand. But we must also be prepared to play a central role in the debate over the future direction of the party. At this important juncture, we must take very seriously our commitment to developing and presenting a clear, socialist alternative. We hope that the proposed agenda addresses these challenges.

# Just as true to NATO

by Wayne Roberts

(Forward editorial board-ed.)

FORMER NEW DEMOCRATIC Party leader Tommy Douglas was fond of saying that although in the United States there are hawks and doves, in Canada there are only parrots. At the NDP federal convention this July, New Democrats will have decided whether their party would join the chorus line of parrots.

As the Cold War heats up again, and as the junior partners of the U.S. empire are called upon to take to the front lines of the nuclear battlefields, pressure is being placed on political parties like the NDP to consolidate popular support for an escalated war drive. As a result, a tug-of-war has developed within the party, between the leadership forces grouped around Ed Broadbent who have already hopped on the Cold War bandwagon, and the as-yet leaderless forces who see the need to make peace and disarmament the issues of the 1980s.

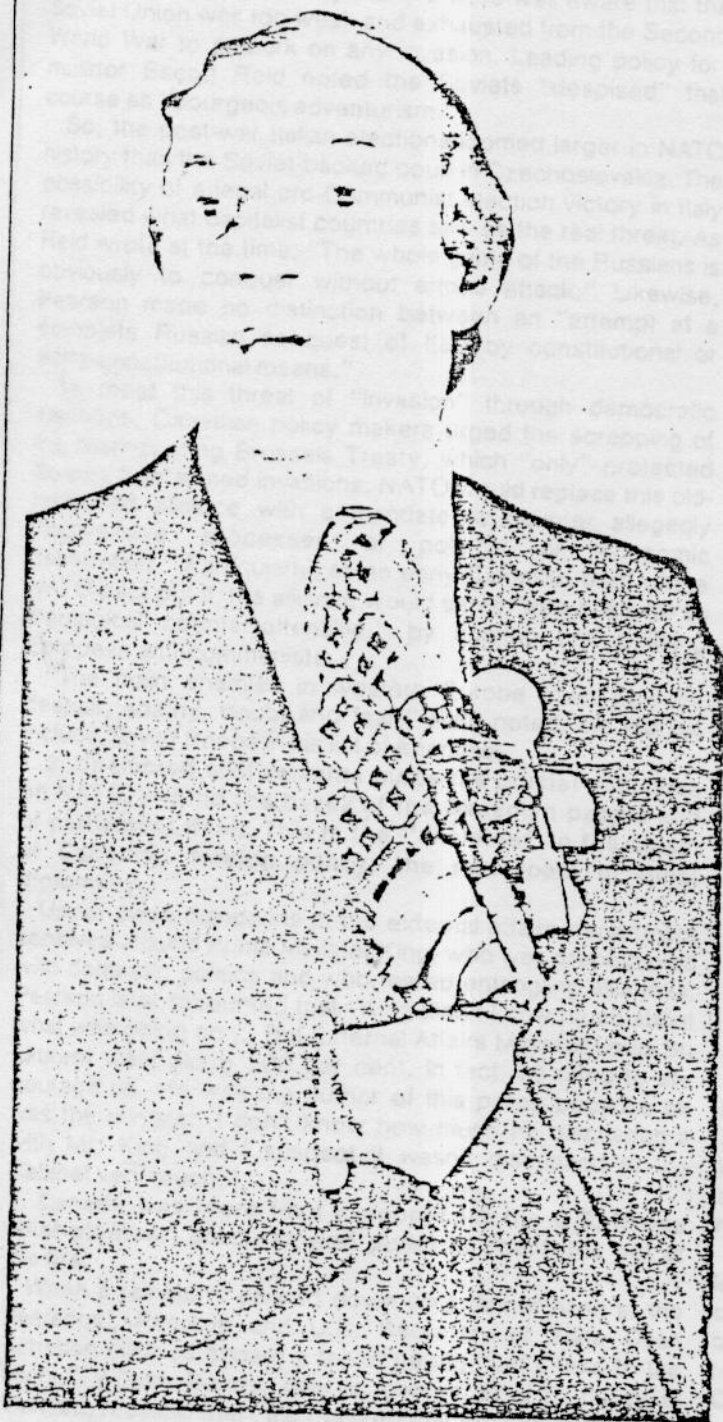
Should Broadbent not bow to the latter opinion, held by the majority of party activists, the federal convention would have benefitted from a sharp debate over the specifics of NDP foreign policy. It would have been a debate over what course Canada is to take — either as a leading wedge in the world struggle for disarmament, or as an apologist for a world divided into two hostile camps perched on the edge of disaster. (It would also have been a debate over Canadian domestic policy, for surely the expenditures involved are a direct threat to funds for social welfare measures.)

For the moment, U.S. President Reagan's ruthless policy toward Central America has clarified and reaffirmed most New Democrats' hostility toward U.S. foreign policy, and provided anti-war activists with a powerful argument against making entangling alliances with the U.S. empire.

But can the NDP withstand the pressure for respectability as defined by the U.S. and its powerful media? Can the NDP assert the power of a movement over a parliamentary caucus which habitually adopts the U.S. stance?

The stakes are high indeed and in the debates, in which Broadbent would be trying to whittle away the humanitarian and anti-war sentiments of most New Democrats, a more historic understanding of the nature of cold-war alliances such as NATO would be required.

Two recently published books dealing with Canadian foreign policy can help us define the fundamental issues. James Eayrs' *In Defence of Canada: Growing Up Allied* provides exhaustive documentation on early Canadian involvement in NATO. The book is written with the quiet iron of a man who sees that the emperor has no clothes but doesn't want to be a spoilsport and break the news to the crowd. Peter Stursberg's *Lester Pearson and the American Dilemma* is a collection of frank interviews with Pearson's associates who apparently felt the emperor's parade was a private showing.



Sept 1/81



From the evidence presented in these books, we can draw the following conclusions:

1. NATO was designed to block domestic upheavals in the war-torn countries of Europe, not to prevent a Soviet military invasion of Europe.

Canadian foreign policy makers were well aware that the Soviet Union was too weak and exhausted from the Second World War to embark on any invasion. Leading policy formulator Escott Reid noted the Soviets "despised" that course as "bourgeois adventurism."

So, the post-war Italian elections loomed larger in NATO history than the Soviet-backed coup in Czechoslovakia. The possibility of a legal pro-Communist election victory in Italy revealed what capitalist countries saw as the real threat. As Reid wrote at the time: "The whole game of the Russians is obviously to conquer without armed attack." Likewise, Pearson made no distinction between an "attempt at a complete Russian conquest of Italy by constitutional or extra-constitutional means."

To meet this threat of "invasion" through democratic elections, Canadian policy makers urged the scrapping of the then-existing Brussels Treaty, which "only" protected Europe from armed invasions. NATO would replace this old-fashioned alliance with a mandate to counter allegedly "subversive processes of political or economic penetration." Particularly, as an early Canadian draft of the NATO pact put it, the alliance would serve "as a basis for an ideological counter-offensive," by scaring and uplifting European anti-communists.

"The main enemies in western Europe must now be despair, apathy, doubt and fear," Reid noted. He did not include Soviet troops in his list of enemies.

2. Unelected civil servants made the crucial decisions on NATO, behind the backs of the Canadian people and of parliament itself. This is the "skeleton" in the closet of Canadian foreign policy, the real roots of quiet diplomacy.

Upper class mandarins in the external affairs department connived around Prime Minister King, who was preoccupied with domestic politics and who feared entangling alliances. Pearson later recounted that "King didn't know much about what was going on ... But External Affairs Minister Louis St. Laurent went along 100 per cent. In fact, he used to encourage us. He was the author of this policy because he was the minister. I don't know how much he discussed it with Mr. King and I suspect it wasn't discussed in the Cabinet very much."

3. Canada was more than a puppet for the U.S. It was chief plumber, procurer, and puller of chestnuts out of the fire.

When a rainstorm poured down on a dinner bash at the Pearsons', Pearson and U.S. Secretary of state Dean Acheson climbed aboard a table, yelling "Let's take to the boats." William Bundy, later in charge of U.S. policy in Vietnam, recalled that "they played that they were on a life-boat and they would accept certain people and they wouldn't accept others. It was a rather colorful episode ... Both men had gaiety and *joie de vivre*..."

Canadian officials were the fixers who advised against the U.S. instinct to go it alone, to brandish economic and

military might, to steamroll over reluctant allies. Canadians were instrumental in convincing U.S. officials to form the NATO alliance with Europe rather than rely exclusively on nuclear weapons. Later, Canadians devised a way of making NATO membership consistent with the United Nations charter.

In this tradition, sophisticated Canadian foreign policy staff used their Commonwealth experience with Asian countries to advise U.S. president Eisenhower against dropping nuclear bombs on Vietnam in 1954, when French forces were routed by Vietnamese freedom fighters. As Canadian diplomat Arnold Smith recalls: "We thought it would be a terrible thing if the West dropped an atom bomb for the second time on Asia. It would really have ended the prospect of understanding between the West and Asia, and we were against it." Such was the basis of Canadian humanism. For these and other contributions to the American empire, Pearson became the only Canadian politician ever to be featured on U.S. bubblegum cards. He has been traded for marbles wherever American boys gamble for small prizes.

4. NATO is the instrument which has locked Canada into the U.S. military machine.

During the Second World War, Canadian foreign affairs and American state department officials played baseball together. A crisis developed when the Canadian team regularly clobbered the Americans. The idea of throwing a game to the Americans was somehow repugnant, one Canadian participant recalled, "but Mike (Pearson) found a way out. He arranged to have a large supply of martinis placed in a bucket of ice just by first base. So the oftener you got on first base, the more martinis you had, and the more martinis you had, the less likely you were to get on base."

"Well, from then on, Canadians would pile up a large lead in the first few innings and from then on ... we would happily watch the Americans catch up..." This was Pearson's first experience as the waterboy for the U.S. world team.

Ironically, many Canadian policy makers thought that NATO, as an alliance, would undercut unilateral U.S. power over Canada. At least in an alliance, they imagined, Canada and other members could all vote on alliance policy.

But a hawk in the hand proved no different than one in the bush. The Canadians outsmarted themselves, U.S. Secretary of State J.F. Dulles told the U.S. House of Representatives that Canadian ambivalence toward the U.S. should be tolerated because "it's a very important piece of real estate and should be humored along."

The U.S. has dominated NATO at every turn, from the inclusion of non-European countries in NATO, to the inclusion of fascist governments in NATO, to the rearmament of Germany. Canadian officials muttered ceaselessly that real NATO headquarters were in Washington, that Canadians were never kept informed, that Canadians were never consulted before decisions were made. Some had hoped that the Canadian tail would wag an American dog. Instead, they found themselves riding a tiger by the tail.

NATO made Canada complicit in U.S. adventures across the world, including the invasion of Korea, about which Canadian officials had private reservations, and Vietnam. In

Socialist and labor parties throughout Europe are increasingly challenging NATO priorities and demands.

Why then does the NDP face a major debate about its 1969 decision to call for Canadian withdrawal from NATO?

fact, even the French diverted Canadian equipment destined for NATO to fight a colonial war against Vietnam. As Eayrs correctly points out: "Canada's NATO commitment and a fellow member's global commitment were in practice interrelated."

The alliance concept was never applied to the defence of Canada, since the U.S. insisted on treating Canada as part of its defence "canopy." Even Pearson balked at this, fearing that "in the event of an all-out-war, it would perhaps be unrealistic for the Canadian government to hope that it could really exercise an effective influence on such policy ... It is felt that it would be improper for Canada as a sovereign nation to permit unrestricted use in peacetime of facilities in Canadian territory for military operations, even on assurance of notification in advance of use."

Pearson preferred having NATO rather than U.S. forces stationed in the Canadian Arctic, but U.S. power prevailed. Pearson came to recognize that "Americans would have none of this concept which, they thought, would interfere with their own control." By this time, Pearson was a mere cabinet minister, removed from the real sources of power. He noted that "our own service people also, I suspect, preferred bilateral dealings and arrangements with Washington."

5. Canadian state officials developed a moralistic smokescreen for NATO, designed to dupe the Canadian people.

"The plain fact ... is that NATO is a military alliance," snorted Dean Acheson. "This purpose is pretty old-fashioned. Perhaps to avoid this stigma, Canadian draftsmen had Article 2 inserted in the Treaty."

Quebec nationalism and CCF radicalism taxed the ingenuity and hypocrisy of Canadian statesmen far beyond the level of their crude U.S. counterparts. Canadian spokesmen instinctively felt that you could catch more flies with honey than with vinegar. Then, Reid remembered, they studied the Quebec press for 1948. "It was then that we used the argument strongly in Washington that for domestic political reasons in Canada we required a treaty that was more than a military alliance. It was to diminish opposition in Quebec and to get the support of the CCF Party."

Article 2, which proclaimed high moral and social purposes for NATO, was useful in Canadian domestic politics but a dead letter elsewhere. There were no meetings to discuss such matters. There was no machinery to implement any such decisions. Canadian officials quickly gave up. "Canada was not so active in pressing for the implementation of Article 2 as it had been in pressing for its inclusion in the treaty," Reid admitted.

The CCF, however, rose to the bait. The party "would not

have accepted the NATO treaty without this provision," one leading civil servant recalled. In fact, one early CCF policy statement only mentioned the positive promises of NATO, and did not even refer to its military function.

These five elements of Canada's involvement in NATO can be substantiated by virtually any recent study of the so-called alliance. The threat which NATO poses to world peace, and to democracy, integrity and independence in Canada, is undeniable. Socialist and labor parties throughout Europe are increasingly challenging NATO priorities and demands.

Why then does the NDP face a major debate about its 1969 decision to call for Canadian withdrawal from NATO?

It is hard to exaggerate the importance of foreign policy decisions in the evolution of the CCF, and later, the NDP. Most studies of the CCF explain the rightward drift of the party from the 1930s through the 1950s by referring to domestic political pressures. In order to win a mass electoral base, these studies claim, the party turned to the right, cast off the Regina Manifesto, and dismantled the grassroots movement which threatened the success of the electoral machine. CCFers became "liberals in a hurry" in response to the demands of Canadian relevance.

This explanation is as shortsighted and superficial as the aspirations it describes. Foreign policy questions played a critical role in house-breaking the CCF leadership. Despite CCF policy to the contrary, the federal caucus, with the exception of J.S. Woodsworth, immediately supported Canada's involvement in the Second World War. The CCF youth (CCYM), a group with many antiwar activists, was disbanded. During the war, the party leadership campaigned for "no conscription of men without conscription of wealth," a distorted version of equal sacrifice that upheld the slaughter of workers as long as capitalists kicked in some money.

After the war, the Coldwell-Lewis leadership became cold warriors in a hurry. Coldwell threatened to resign as leader if a pro-NATO policy wasn't adopted by convention. The federal caucus unanimously supported the formation of NATO. Colin Cameron and other antiwar activists rooted in the B.C. section were expelled. At the founding convention of the NDP, Tommy Douglas black-mailed the convention into reversing its oppression to NATO by threatening to resign.

There is no evidence that these moves increased the electoral popularity of the CCF — quite the contrary. But the CCF leadership was vying for respectability — that most insidious virus in the working class movement. It is this pressure which must be analyzed, not the pressures of public opinion which can only add vitality to a movement's efforts to popularize its ideas.

The NDP finally came out in opposition to NATO in 1969. The horror of the U.S. war against Vietnam, together with increasing recognition that the U.S. rather than the Soviet Union represented the real threat to Canadian sovereignty, were crucial to that re-assessment.

But that decision was relatively easy to make. In 1968, even Trudeau announced the need to reconsider Canadian



foreign policy, including NATO. The cold war had few defenders and many opponents.

A decade later, the NDP's NATO position became less respectable. The Soviet Union intervened in Afghanistan. Even though this intervention propped up a relatively progressive government in the Soviet sphere of influence, the incident was used to provoke hysteria about Soviet intentions to dominate the world. By comparison, the Iraqi seizure of U.S. diplomats seemed to underscore the relative weakness of the U.S. in the world, even though the U.S. had held that whole nation hostage for almost 30 years after the CIA installed the Shah in power.

In the face of these pressures and in the midst of an election, Broadbent recanted. He even supported the Carter doctrine that the Middle East was in the U.S. sphere of influence. Since then, he has repeated his calls for a reassessment of NDP policy on NATO-NORAD. He set up a blue-ribbon commission within the party to reassess foreign policy but was unable to control it. His spokesmen on the

NDP's federal council tried twice to persuade this leading body to present a pro-NATO policy to convention. They failed both times.

None of these setbacks have affected Broadbent's behaviour in parliament. During President Reagan's spring visit to Ottawa, the entire NDP caucus sat by quietly while the NORAD agreement, tying Canada into U.S. continental "defence" policy, was renewed. The caucus joined heartily to give unanimous consent to a motion condemning demonstrators whose protests allegedly drowned out the words of wisdom and rights of free speech of our esteemed visitor.

The renewal of the Cold War makes it the more imperative that the enlightened voices for disarmament within the NDP be heard. Canadians will be watching the upcoming federal convention closely to see whether those voices prevail, or whether they are trampled in the rush towards the "chorus line of parrots".

## To Be In NATO Or Not To Be In NATO?

That is the question. Four years ago I wrote a 30-page paper for The International Affairs Committee strongly objecting to NATO's nuclear strategy and concluded that Canada should leave the NATO Alliance. Since then I have been an almost full-time disarmament activist and writer and now believe that the New Democratic Party should reverse our policy and work within the NATO Alliance. Why the change? NATO policy has itself not changed and still projects a destabilizing and provocative threat to world peace and the original motivation behind our existing policy—a pox on both superpowers—is as sound as ever. The essential question that confronts us is how best to reform Western nuclear strategy.

As we enter into this debate a sense of perspective is necessary. Every political party and movement has its goals/principles, strategies and tactics. In regards to International Affairs our goals/principles, as I see it, are peace, freedom and justice. Our strategies include the call for disarmament and superpower non-intervention and among our tactics is the question of what military and political Alliances we should enter into. If these categories are accepted, the NATO question is one of tactics and should not be blown up out of proportion.

The overriding objection to NATO is its nuclear strategy—in particular the fact that NATO is prepared to use nuclear weapons first in a conventional war and, if it is deemed necessary, to engage in an all out nuclear war. As a consequence of this strategy, NATO decided to employ nuclear "war-fighting" weapons such as the Cruise and Pershing II. There are however new possibilities of altering the nature of NATO's military strategies. The NATO Alliance is in considerable disarray and alternative proposals of considerable importance are now being put forward by some NATO nations. Greece, Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway and Iceland have all to greater or lesser degrees—begun to oppose traditional NATO policies. And the European parties in the Socialist International whether they be in or out of government are now beginning to work together to develop and promote European arms limitation agreement and to provide and alternative direction for NATO. The British Labour Party and the West German Social Democratic Party clearly stand out in this regard and it should be noted that the former, while holding a unilateral disarmament position, does not call for withdrawal from NATO.

These European "dissidents" oppose Cruise and Pershing II deployment and call for a renunciation of NATO's "first-use" policy. They argue that NATO must reassess its conventional military strategy, which is at present tied to the threat of nuclear escalation. Such a reassessment may mean some increase in conventional forces—this is open to debate—but it could

also lead to more fundamental changes in military strategy and deployment. A planned but total withdrawal of all battle-field nuclear weapons-the trigger setting off a full nuclear conflict-is also a vital part of this reform agenda. In short, there is a serious re-thinking of NATO policy occurring among many NATO nations and the United States is getting increasingly more annoyed. Clearly, in view of U.S. military and political dominance, there are substantial difficulties of achieving major policy changes in NATO. While not wanting to discount the difficulties, there is also a serious basis for optimism.

Canada and our Party would be remiss, in my opinion, if we did not do everything in our power to encourage and support the reform of NATO movement. Not only Europe but the future of this planet may hang in the balance. It should also be understood that Canada's membership in NATO does not impose many restraints on independent action. Canada can oppose the Cruise while maintaining NATO membership. Denmark, in fact, told NATO that it would have absolutely nothing to do with the Cruise-whether it be in regards to the deployment of the Cruise missile on its soil or the use of Denmark's monetary contribution to NATO for purposes having anything to do with the Cruise. While inside NATO, Canada can support the nuclear freeze initiative as did a number of Western nations. Canada can even become a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (NWFZ) and cancel our Defense Production Sharing Agreement with the United States while remaining a NATO member in "good standing". NORAD membership may compromise Canada's becoming a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone but NATO membership itself carries no such constraints. Indeed, Canada could even reduce or eliminate the number of our military forces in Europe while still being inside NATO. This I would not recommend as Canada has always had and should maintain a commitment to the common defense of Europe. In any case, there is little or no excess baggage which comes along with a NATO membership. The New Democratic Party's full disarmament objectives can and should be met while maintaining membership in the NATO Alliance.

Finally, there is the question of the impact of our disarmament policies within Canada. Does our withdrawal from NATO position interfere with and jeopardize our ability to get across effectively and favourably our fundamental policies on international peace, freedom and justice. Does our current position suggest to the majority of Canadians that we are not as critical of the Russians as we are of the Americans? It must be admitted that the Canadian disarmament movement as a whole has not been sufficiently critical of the Soviet Union. As one deeply involved in the disarmament movement-both inside and outside of the Party-I have become convinced that our position on NATO intrudes severely on the Canadian people's receptiveness to NDP positions on disarmament and other foreign policy initiatives. It should be noted that the vast majority of organizations in the Canadian disarmament movement do not call for Canada's withdrawal from NATO. The NATO issue hangs



## WHY SIMON ROSENBLUM IS WRONG ABOUT NATO

- Harry Kopyto

Left caucus members will have received a copy of an Article entitled "To be in NATO or not to be in NATO?", written by left caucus member, Simon Rosenblum, who has played a key role in supporting the move to dump the NDP's long standing opposition to membership in NATO which will be the essential political question before the upcoming Federal Convention of the NDP in June.

Simon Rosenblum's argument for membership in NATO is on the surface an attractive one. He first points out how he has himself long been an opponent of membership in the NATO Alliance and how his perspective on the question is that of a person who has "been an almost full-time disarmament activist and writer and now believes that the New Democratic Party should reverse our policy and work within the NATO Alliance".

He motivates this change on the basis that NATO membership for Canada is the best way to reform Western Nuclear Strategy (my emphasis - HK).

He next states that while the NDP strategies include disarmament and non-intervention, the issue of NATO membership is a tactical issue which must be seen in perspective. He argues that a dramatic possibility exists for altering NATO's first strike nuclear strategy by aligning with countries like, Greece, Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway and Iceland to oppose traditional NATO policies. He points out that the European labour parties are moving towards alternative directions for NATO and that such a "reassessment" could lead to fundamental changes in military strategy. Rosenblum argues that Canada would be remiss if it did not do everything to encourage the reform of NATO. He states that "not only Europe but the future of this planet may hang in the balance". He concludes that Canada's membership in NATO does not necessarily mean supporting the cruise, pointing out Denmark's decision to refuse the cruise and to direct its monetary contribution to NATO away from cruise deployment purposes. He also points out that Canada's membership in NATO can co-exist with a nuclear freeze position, with cancelling the Defence Production Sharing Agreement, with opposing NORAD membership and with eliminating military forces in Europe. "The New Democratic Party's full disarmament objectives can and should be met while maintaining membership in the NATO Alliance".

Rosenblum concludes that our current position suggests that we are not as critical of the Russians as of the Americans. He argues that our anti-NATO position "hangs as a dark cloud ... undermining our work on the cruise, the freeze, etc. Recognizing that "the NDP will not be the government of Canada for some time", it would be harder to call upon the Canadian Government to "have a progressive role in NATO" if we oppose NATO membership.

The arguments raised by Rosenblum are at first blush attractive and appear logical. In fact, the same arguments have been made and are likely to be made over and over by the leadership of the party at the upcoming Federal Convention. While no one in the NDP will wholly enthusiastically embrace NATO membership in light of what Simon Rosenblum himself admits in his article to be "substantial difficulties of achieving major policy changes in NATO ... in view of the U.S. military and political dominance", the basic argument that it would be remiss for Canada not to join the reform - NATO movement is essential to the leadership's attempt to justify scuttling our out-of-NATO position.

The first observation that must be made about Rosenblum's position is that he essentially accepts the theory of deterrence, with respect to nuclear weapons. In his view, it is apparent that Canada must either line up with the Pentagon or the Kremlin - there is no third alternative. Such a position appears to flatly contradict his general strategic commitment to disarmament and results in the promotion of a tactic - membership in NATO - which contradicts his strategic goal of disarmament. While tactical questions are important for socialists, there must be some basic consistency with respect to the political principles involved. If the NDP is in favour of disarmament and opposed to the concept of nuclear military alliances as a guarantee of peace, then the advocacy of membership in a military alliance is patently in contradiction with such a position and cannot be justified under any conditions. The essential question is which side are you on - for or against military alliances. While Simon Rosenblum says that he is committed to disarmament, his position in practice is for endorsing a military alliance strategy.

But Rosenblum's position is fundamentally in error in other ways.

The whole idea that the United States could be influenced by a reform movement within NATO remains to be proved and is merely speculative. The United States does not appear to behave differently within NATO than it does outside of NATO. It has not consulted NATO countries with respect to the invasion of Grenada anymore than it has consulted non-NATO countries. It has not consulted NATO

countries with respect to its military support for the contras in Nicaragua anymore than it has consulted countries outside of NATO. The same goes for the U.S. military presence in other countries of the world, whether it be El Salvador, Chile or Bolivia. In fact, the U.S. is the main threat to world peace and NATO is a pure military alliance designed to assist U.S. military aggression in return for "protection" under the U.S. nuclear umbrella.

Rosenblum is also wrong in picturing the decisions of countries such as Belgium and Greece as a reform - NATO movement. The fact remains that the Greek Government is fast moving to extricate itself from membership in the NATO Alliance while the Belgian Government is deeply split because of its NATO commitments only because of a powerful anti-NATO position within the peace movement and labour parties in these countries. In most of the labour parties in Europe, the left has been extremely active in the anti-NATO movement and the anti-NATO stance of the anti-war movements have been central to creating the "disarray" which Rosenblum admits NATO finds itself in. The European Arms Limitation Agreements would not be endangered one iota by the withdrawal from NATO membership of any of its present European members, nor is such membership a precondition to the success of such an agreement. With labour parties like West Germany's, which Simon Rosenblum holds out as a sterling example of a social democratic party which does not call for withdrawal from NATO while holding a clear disarmament position, the fact remains that the party is in fact clearly moving towards taking an anti-NATO position under growing pressure from its youth movement and the developing strength of the Green party, which can be attributed in large measure to the weakness of the German Social Democratic Party on the NATO issue in the past. The inevitable conclusion is that the reform NATO movement which Simon Rosenblum regards as central to his justification of Canada's membership in the Alliance is in fact moving in the direction of getting out of NATO.

Rosenblum ignores a number of other fundamental facts. As NATO is as much a political alliance as a military one, Canada's membership in NATO would compromise us by providing a political cover for U.S. aggression. Far from influencing the United States, Canada's membership encourages the United States to do as it wishes taking for granted Canada's political support, a condition that would not exist if it was no longer a member of NATO.

Taken to its logical conclusion, Rosenblum's argument for membership in NATO can be used to undermine the NDP's support for the nuclear freeze, its opposition to the cruise, its opposition to Defence Sharing Agreements, and any effort to eliminate our military forces in Europe. After all, if Canada's membership in NATO can be justified on the basis that the United States can be reformed and influenced, is it not more likely to be influenced by a country that is not merely a "half-hearted member"? Would Canada's influence



with the U.S. not be greater if it "carried its share of the burden in NATO" if it participated fully in the Star Wars Plan of President Reagan? The logic of Simon Rosenblum's argument once it involves accepting tactics which are flatly in contradiction with the strategic aims, can lead to justify the total scuttling of the NDP's pro-peace program.

Simon Rosenblum's position ignores the fact that by withdrawing from NATO, Canada would have greater influence among the real forces for peace, those countries not aligned with nuclear alliances. Further, since Simon Rosenblum admits the NDP is likely not to be in power federally for some time, does he seriously believe that the Conservatives or Liberal Parties will be able to influence the United States in the coming period to move in a pro-peace direction through NATO membership? Can we really have confidence in these parties to "have a progressive role in NATO"?

Other arguments put forward by Simon Rosenblum in his article are clearly wrong. The implicit suggestion that our monetary contribution to NATO can be directed away from cruise missiles is absurd - any contribution to NATO would free other money to be used for the Cruise. As well, to suggest that our anti-NATO position undermines our work in the peace movement is absurd - dumping our program without sufficient cause would do much more to alienate the NDP's credibility in the peace movement. We need only look at the situation in Australia where the labour party's waffling on the nuclear disarmament issue and membership in the Anzus Alliance has resulted in the dramatic rise of the Nuclear Disarmament Party at great electoral expense - 7% of the population to the Australian Labour Party in the last election.

There can be no question that NATO is in a state of disarray. The peace movement has never had a greater opportunity to undermine the concept of deterrence through nuclear alliances. But NATO is not a democratic "parliament" of member countries which hold democratic votes on military and political questions. It is totally dominated by the U.S. political/military/industrial complex which cannot be reformed from within. The so-called reform movement is actually a movement against NATO as the directions of the West German, Greek and Belgium labour parties indicate. Canada cannot be a voice for peace and an echo for NATO at the same time. Dumping our NATO position will undermine the NDP's authority in the peace movement, demoralize the rank and file, further blur our distinct image in the public mind, provide political support for a Tory swing towards Reagan's militaristic policies, derail important sections of the independent mass peace movement and eventually undermine the leadership of the NDP itself. We should not let it happen.

ALL THIS AND A PARTY  
TOO!!!

There will be a party  
held at 9:00 pm on the  
evening of Sat. Sept.  
26th. Further infor-  
mation on party loca-  
tion will be available  
at the conference.

2:45

5:15

SUNDAY

Sept. 27th

9:00

9:30

11:15

12:30

1:30

2:45

5:00

Labor Policy

Educational Policy  
and Childcare

Municipal Policy

Youth Issues

Task Force Submission  
on Next Four Years

Plenary I: Reports of  
Workshops on policy

ADJOURNMENT

Registration

Plenary II: Reports  
of Workshops on  
action - Task Force  
Submission

Plenary III: Tactics  
for change - The role  
of the Left Caucas in  
the leadership race and  
in the leadership of  
the party as a whole.

Lunch

Workshops III

The Role and Organi-  
zation of the Left  
Caucas (5 GROUPS)

Plenary IV: The role and  
organization of the left  
caucas - Reports of work-  
shops.

POSTSCRIPT/ADJOURNMENT

1981

**FRIENDS  
SOME ARE  
OF THE  
HONORABLE  
BEST LEFT  
CAUCUS MEMBERS**

WHEN: SEPTEMBER

26th and 27th

9:00 am to

5:00 pm

Registration is  
at 9:00 am each  
day.

WHERE: PARKVIEW

COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE

1 Danforth Ave. at

Broadview.

Freeway Exit: Bayview/  
Bloor St. off the Don  
Valley Expressway

Subway Stop: Broadview •  
on the Bloor St. Subway

DO YOU NEED:

\_\_\_ Accomodation

\_\_\_ Daycare

\_\_\_ No. of Children

\_\_\_ Ages

\_\_\_ Transportation

CAN YOU PROVIDE:

\_\_\_ Billetting

\_\_\_ Rides

REGISTRATION FEE: \$7.50

Please Mail or  
Phone information  
to Bob Kasher  
(416) 465-4008  
18 Howland Rd.  
Toronto, Ont.  
M4K 2Z6

SATURDAY

Sept. 26th

TIME

9:00

9:30

10:15

EVENT

Registration  
Introduction  
Workshops I

Party Democracy  
and Structure

Labor and the NDP:  
Strengthening the  
Tie

Grassroots Organizing

Economic Policy

Energy, Environment  
and Transportation

Human Rights and  
Justice

NDP and the Ethnic  
Communities

Women's Issues

Municipal Action

Lunch

Workshops II

Building a Grassroots  
Riding

Economic Policy

Energy, Environment  
and Transportation

Human Rights and  
Justice

AND THEY'LL BE AT THE FALL

CONFERENCE



(Dated: October 1981)

Simon Rosenblum - October, 1981

Whereas the deepening economic crisis in Ontario and Canada reveals the the inherent weaknesses of the private enterprise system, and

Whereas any remedy will require the full mobilization of all our economic resources, and

Whereas according to an Ontario U.A.W. policy statement of 1980, "as long as the giant corporations have the economy in their clutches, as long as they can determine who has jobs, and who doesn't have jobs, the political leader who is expected to make the economy run smoothly ... is powerless", and

Whereas multinational corporations have exploited Ontario's natural resources by exporting profits and manufacturing jobs outside the country instead of linking secondary industry to our resource base, and

Whereas only direct control through ownership of a substantial and vital sector of the manufacturing growth industries, which hold the key to full employment, will allow an ONDP government to achieve its essential planning objectives in the public interest;

Therefore Be It Resolved That an ONDP government would take the following steps to bring our economy under our own control in the interests of the people on Ontario and Canada:

1. Bring the resource industries under public ownership so that the natural resources of Ontario can be used to provide an economic base for growth.
2. Nationalize the dominant corporations in economically decisive Ontario manufacturing sectors so that we can shape an industrial suited to our needs. Sectors and corporations that would be priorities include communications (Bell Canada, Northern Telecom), steel manufacturing (Stelco), electrical equipment (Canadian General Electric), pulp and paper (Abitibi-Price) and chemicals (Dow Chemical).
3. Establish planning agreements with the remaining major private sector corporations so that a significant share of private profits will be invested in socially acceptable ways.
4. Urge the federal government to bring the major banks and trusts under public ownership (as called for by the 1979 OFL convention), so that their massive financial resources can be used for social needs rather than for private profit.

(This proposed resolution belongs in the Industry Policy grouping and supercedes or replaces Resolutions 4.10 (Manufacturing Strategy for the 1980s) and 4.2.1 (End the Branch Plant Economy in Ontario)).

#### LEFT CAUCUS WOMEN'S MEETING

The Left Caucus Women are meeting Sunday, November 1st at 2:00 pm at 533a Gladstone Ave. This meeting is in preparation for the ONDP's Women's Convention at Queen's Park, November 6th & 7th. We will be discussing women's policy, delegation to future conventions and grassroots organizing in women's own ridings.

Please try to attend both meetings. And remember to encourage women in your own ridings to come to the convention.

Left Caucus Women Committee

Office 2  
Ave. 2  
Bloor St.  
Gladstone Ave.  
533a Gladstone Ave.  
Toronto

Lois Bédard  
3 Hazelridge Drive  
Toronto, Ontario



St. Andrew-St. Patrick NDP  
c/o 11 Walmer Road  
Apartment 406  
Toronto, Ontario  
M5R 2W9  
October 16, 1981

Dear NDP Activist:

Enclosed please find a copy of "Rebuilding the ONDP:  
A New Direction", which we are submitting to the party  
in response to "The Next Four Years; A Discussion Paper".

Our statement has been drawn up on the basis of discus-  
sions at two St. Andrew-St. Patrick executive meetings and  
one general membership meeting.

We look forward to receiving your comments and  
suggestions.

In solidarity,

Stan Kutz, (416) 967-5609 (H)  
President

\* Wayne Roberts, (416) 363-4857 (H)  
Vice President

Harry Glasbeek, (416) 783-0614 (H)  
Newsletter Committee  
St. Andrew-St. Patrick NDP

We are out to rebuild the ONDP, to pick up the pieces from the election setback, to find a new leader, and to set a new direction that can take us to power. We need to build a party, we need to build a movement that can challenge corporate priorities and that can point toward a new society where the Canadian people, not foreign multinationals, control the destiny of this country.

#### Where We Agree

Like the authors of "The Next Four Years: A Discussion Paper", we want to "end a decade of drift that helped produce" the March election setback. We share their concern with the lack of "any consistent political strategy governing the party's actions in the last 10 years". We agree that "the result is a party which feels lost, unsure of itself, in need of direction. The importance of charting a direction clearly and deliberately is basic."

We agree as well that "riding associations have important political responsibilities and are not just machines for picking up memberships". Fund-raising is a major project for most ridings, and so we also welcome the statement "that fund-raising can and should be more than arm-twisting".

#### Where We Disagree

The title is the message in "The Next Four Years". We reject the "management by objectives" approach which sets the rather fanciful goal of moving from last to first place in four years, and then subordinates basic questions of principle, strategy and organization to that timeframe. Such an approach inevitably leads to a series of technocratic household hints rather than a basic reassessment of our direction.

We reject the collection agency mentality that proposes a doubling of membership due to the "unworkable assessment formula" involved with 25,000 members. Proposals to increase our membership should be tied into a strategy to build a dynamic movement, not just finance a budget.

Likewise, we do not see "the need of cause to fight for" as an after-thought, one of the "implications" of organizing seriously to win an election. The causes we stand for must determine our organizing goals. Hopefully, the causes we stand for will become the centre of our agenda in the next four years. We must organize aggressively around our ideas and alternatives,



not be waiting for the Tory government, not sink back in a political strategy which "must be formulated in the light of the fact that governments defeat themselves", and not take a-political cheap shots at Liberals as "a declining party of opposition". In choosing the ideas we present to the public, we should avoid any narrow definition of ourselves as a party of "wage and salary earners". "The Next Four Years" warns against "diffusing our energies over a host of special causes". By contrast, we hope to unify the interests of workers with housewives, pensioners, persecuted minorities and peace activists. In coalescing these kinds of causes, we will underline the need for socialism, not distract from it.

Despite these many areas of disagreement, we welcome the effort in "The Next Four Years: A Discussion Paper" to think about our problems over the long-term. As a contribution to the discussion, we submit this document. We hope it can serve as an alternative for a party that wants to become a social movement, that wants to stress socialist ideas, that wants to involve its members and the population in the creation of a democratic socialist government in Ontario.

#### An Activist Party

The NDP must become a party of strong words and stronger deeds. If we want to reach out to new people, there is no shortcut, no alternative to becoming a party of action.

#### The Media is the Message

We cannot rely on the media to communicate our message because the media is the message. The message is that we think that a media blitz based on the image of a charismatic leader at election time will cause people to rethink their approach to politics. The message is that we treat the population as passive consumers of political hype, who will switch political parties as casually as they will switch brands of beer or soap. The message is that we are as safe, as secure, as new as any deodorant. The message is that we do not bother to appeal to the population except at election time. The message is that we rely on our opponents, the capitalists who control the media, to relay our message to the people.

- Local Area Councils and Labour Councils should establish liaison committees to co-ordinate party mobilizations in support of strikers or other joint union-party goals. In this way, our party can join the front lines of union battles. As well, union and riding activists can get to know each other in real-life situations, not just at conventions as is the case now.
- Elected members should try to gain publicity, legitimacy and action on behalf of struggles where NDP policy is clearly at issue. In this way, the importance of legislative representation can be dramatized to hospital and postal workers etc., many of whom are not aware of our support.
- The provincial party should establish a priority campaign every six months in accord with pressing social or economic needs of the population. As with the medicare campaign, all ridings should participate in a common effort to build public opposition to such issues as cutbacks, mortgage rates or retreats on rent review.

If we do not help lead some of these struggles, the Toronto Sun will. Worse still, if we do not help lead some of these struggles, the Tories and Liberals will implement their policies without any powerful show of NDP opposition.

#### A Democratic Movement That Involves Its Members

To mobilize our energies, to maximize our effectiveness, to learn from each other, we need to co-ordinate our activities. Such sharing of resources requires democratic organization. It requires organizational structures sensitive to the needs of people with little time to spare after a hard day at work. It requires co-ordinating mechanisms sensitive to the particular needs of individual ridings. Such structures must come from the needs of a movement, not of flow charts.

#### Co-ordination of Effort

To achieve the kind of co-ordination we need, we suggest that:

- Our decision-making processes must emphasize the accountability of the party executive and caucus to convention policy as reviewed by Provincial Council. To strengthen this accountability, we suggest a strengthening of the Policy Review Committee, which should report regularly to relevant bodies of the party. This committee, along with all other committees that make important

decisions, (the Election Planning Committee for instance), should be elected at convention or council, not appointed by the executive.

- Ridings should assign duties in a way that allows people with limited time to participate on a guilt-free basis. Too often we burn out enthusiasts. Too often, we miss the possibility of working with people who want to test the waters, not get swamped. Instead of doubling up on roles, by combining presidents and first council delegates for instance, we should move in the direction of separating out as many tasks as possible so that more people can become involved.

### Co-ordination and Democracy

Co-ordinating and democratizing the party does not require a constitutional amendment granting caucus members automatic rights at Council, as "The Next Four Years" suggests. Such a move presupposes that the party must be made accountable to caucus. We believe that the problem lies in the other direction at the moment.

Upgrading party organization and co-ordination requires collaboration, not punishment. We reject the proposals to suspend ridings which have fallen behind financially or which have failed to sign up a certain percentage of the population in their communities.

### Funding a Socialist Movement

People want to believe in causes that promise profound changes and they are willing to dig deep to help finance these causes. This truth has been confirmed many times in history, and underlies the success of every popular movement (including extremist religious movements of this day). But money does not grow on gimmicks, not even tax-deductible ones. It comes from people who recognize that we are the only force to improve their lives. If we are marching with those fighting to improve society, we will not have to rely on a march of dimes to finance ourselves.

In order to facilitate a discussion of particular fund-raising techniques, we suggest that the following political ground rules be clarified:

- That the budget should be explained and accepted at convention or provincial council.
- That we follow the B.C. NDP example separating the function of membership from the function of fundraising. This does not mean that we will cease



to raise funds from members, but we will in no way make funding a prerequisite for membership.

- That fundraising be carried on in conjunction with ongoing campaigns of our movement. In particular, ridings and other party bodies should be encouraged to develop fundraising techniques that tie in with efforts to develop the NDP with a many-sided cultural and recreational life.

### A Cause To Fight For

Our objection to the inhumanity of capitalism, our vision of a co-operative dynamic socialist future, inspires our dedication to the NDP. It can inspire others to join us and vote for us.

Without this commitment, we have no reason to exist. We would have no reason to adjust our tactics, for we would not know where we were going. We would have no ability even to influence the media, which would have nothing to report on but the charisma (or lack thereof) of our leader.

Our commitment to socialism is at one with the needs of the people of Ontario. Yet most of them do not know of the alternative we are fighting for, unless they read our convention booklets.

### Re-invigorating the NDP: A Vehicle For Political Education

We must re-invigorate the NDP as a vehicle for political education, for ourselves and for others. We agree with some of the proposals of "The Next Four Years" but we would like to add some others.

- establishing an open atmosphere for discussion and debate in the party.
- increasing the educational content of riding meetings.
- helping ridings establish newsletters.
- turning the New Democrat from a quasi-quarterly tabloid of a mutual admiration society into a lively, informative monthly. By 1985 at the latest, we should be aiming for a paper that can compete with the commercial press for readers. We are one of the few socialist parties in the western world to lack such an instrument of commentary and education.
- sponsor and co-sponsor regular public forums dealing with important issues from a New Democratic perspective.

### The Real Challenge: A New Direction

The suggestions made here barely touch on the possibilities that will arise in the next four years. All of them will require hard work. By the same token, all of them will attract new members and workers.

We will not attract these new members if we limit ourselves to administrative re-organization. What we need is a new direction that sets a course for our party as a social movement actively involved with unions and with the community. That is the real challenge of the next four years.

28 October, 1981

Dear left caucus friends,

Over the last four years, two points of view have emerged in the Ontario Left Caucus. One, representing a continuation of the sentiment which dominated the Waffle, sees the need for a bureaucratically structured left caucus which provides an alternative leadership to that of the NDP. The other, dissatisfied with the failure of the Waffle, sees the left caucus as a loosely structured movement that exists primarily to allow a circulation of ideas and experiences among socialists in the NDP whose primary emphasis is political work in their ridings and locals. While both views have a long past, we feel only the second has a future.

Unlike the proponents of the first view, we do not see the leadership of the Ontario NDP as the central problem in the party. The NDP is basically democratic, and our leaders reflect the dominant views within the party. We socialists are a minority, and our hope for a more progressive party will not be realized until we build broader support for socialism among the working class in Canada.

We will never accomplish that goal if the bulk of our time is spent in abstract policy debates or organizational necessities of a structured left caucus. This only diverts us from the real work of grass-roots organizing around issues in our ridings and locals.

Having moved in a more structured direction for its September conference, the Ontario Left Caucus began to exhibit the very characteristics that we on the left have opposed in the NDP itself. There was little opportunity for rank-and-file input into the setting of the agenda, contrary to the instructions of the meeting that decided to have the September conference.

As a result, virtually the whole time was spent on policy discussions and internal questions about the Ontario Left Caucus. No effort was made to develop plans for issue-oriented, rank-and-file political action. Close to half the people who came the first day did not even bother returning on Sunday.

Equally disturbing was the organizers' failure to provide adequate notice for the September conference. Most left caucus supporters received no announcement of the conference until a day or two before it was held, despite the fact that plans for the conference were decided at a meeting in May.

While the mail strike may have prevented receipt of a planned June mailing, only a blatant disregard for democratic participation led to the repeated decision to postpone mailing an announcement until the week the conference took place.

The result was that the conference attendance was far below the 300 anticipated in May, and it certainly did not represent the rank-and-file who support left positions at provincial conventions. To the organizers of the conference, this seems to be no major problem.

Since we want to concentrate our energy on political organizing within our ridings and unions, we simply cannot justify the time it takes continually to oppose the undemocratic practice of those within the Ontario Left Caucus who keep pressing for more structure, more meetings, more bureaucracy with less rank-and-file participation.



So we will no longer be part of the Ontario Left Caucus, although we will continue working hard within the NDP to move it in a socialist direction. Issue organizing among the rank-and-file within the NDP and among working people outside the NDP seem to offer the best hope for realizing our aim. We still feel the need for regular sharing of ideas and experiences among fellow socialists in the NDP.

The following are some concrete steps we favour and encourage others to consider:

- 1) establishing grass-roots organizing committees within ridings to develop and carry out issue-oriented political campaigns within the local community;
- 2) co-ordinating activities on a multiple riding or area council basis to carry forward public issue campaigns of broader significance, like Parkdale NDP's anti-Klan actions;
- 3) setting up trade union committees within ridings to build closer links with local unions in the area so that ridings and locals can work together on issues of mutual concern;
- 4) meeting at conventions and using the Federal Left Caucus mailings between conventions to share our ideas and experiences;
- 5) bringing to conventions specific resolutions concerning issues and actions that arise in our communities and unions so that the NDP becomes aware of the concerns we all face.

We would be pleased to hear from you about the matters we have raised, and we look forward to working with many of you in the years ahead.

Yours in struggle,

Dan Heap, MP  
House of Commons  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1A 0A6

Kay Macpherson  
32 Boswell Ave.  
Toronto, Ontario  
M5R 1M4

David Robertson  
70 Esther Lorrie Drive  
Apt. 401  
Rexdale, Ontario M9W 4V1

John Rodriguez  
21 Willow Cres.  
Capreol, Ontario  
POM 1H0

Ross Sutherland  
293 Delaware Ave.  
Toronto, Ontario  
M6H 2T7

Jim Turk  
29 Bartlett Ave.  
Toronto, Ontario  
M6H 3E8

P.S. The problems of the Ontario Left Caucus have not affected the much looser Federal Left Caucus which will be continuing its primary activity of sending mailings on a regular basis. These mailings will include anything any supporter wants to submit, provided 550 copies are sent to the people doing the mailing.

The date of the next mailing is early January, and copies of material you want included should be sent to Ross Sutherland, 293 Delaware, Toronto M6H 2T7, by December 15, 1981.

To: The Members of Forward  
Re: Emergency Branch Meeting on Left Caucus (see enclosed letter).  
Time: Friday, November 6th, 8:00 P.M. 1981  
Place: 7 Carr Street Court, (Ellie and Wayne's).

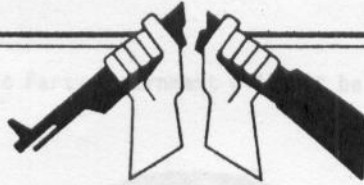
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TO: FORWARD GROUP  
RE: THE NEXT BRANCH MEETING  
TIME: WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1981  
8:00 P.M.

AGENDA - LEFT CAUCUS (TORONTO MEETING)  
(see enclosed statements)  
- ONDP EXECUTIVE SLATE  
  
- the usual items

PLACE: 375 MONTROSE AVE. TORONTO

THE TWO PAGE STATEMENT IS THE ONE THAT THE TORONTO LEFT CAUCUS MEETING AUTHORISED WAYNE TO WRITE. THE OTHER STATEMENT IS THE ONE BOB KASHER BROUGHT TO THE MEETING, WHERE IT WAS AMENDED BY SIMON ROSENBLUM.



# The Peace Oriented Policy of the New Democrats

The New Democratic Party commits itself to a democratic socialist alternative in Canada's international affairs. At its heart, this alternative depends upon two major initiatives: an urgent effort to reverse the arms race and reduce tensions among the military superpowers and, secondly, an effective assault on worldwide poverty. As socialists, New Democrats believe that there needs to be a reordering of the world's economic institutions to transfer a share of power to the poorer nations. Significant steps are necessary to bring multinationals under public control at the community and international level. As democrats, we believe that it is essential for democracy and community control to be strengthened at all levels. Human rights and freedoms, trade unions, co-operatives, free political parties, are all crucial to effective change. These will be the broad international objectives of an NDP government.

## C. Peace and Security

- 1) A New Democratic Party government will not participate in the development, testing, production or supply of arms or arms components to be used in third party arms trade and wars of aggression. The Defence Production Sharing Agreement ties Canada into weapons production and weapons-associated industrial production that is unacceptable to NDP foreign policy and industrial strategy goals. Under a New Democratic Party government Canada will withdraw from the Defence Production Sharing Agreement.
- 2) A New Democratic Party government will strictly control the export of arms so that Canadian weapons and military support equipment are not used anywhere in the world for the suppression of democratic rights and freedoms.
- 3) A New Democratic Party government will work with all other nations to obtain the ratification of and compliance with the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.
- 4) A New Democratic Party government will make Canada a nuclear-free zone, will also work for a multilateral arms control and arms verification agreement, and will devote a portion of the Canadian defence budget to arms control and peace research.
- 5) A New Democratic Party government will actively support the SALT process and will seek the enlargement of confidence-building measures, balanced force reductions in Europe, the creation of nuclear-free zones and the de-militarization of space.
- 6) The NDP supports a strategy of nuclear suffocation and a global referendum on disarmament.
- 7) The NDP recognizes the need for a thorough review of the housing, training, placement and pay-scale problems of the Canadian Armed Forces and the need to review the tasks and responsibilities of the Forces. Recognizing this and the issues of northern sovereignty, off-shore patrol, and the question of participation in peacekeeping forces, a New Democratic Party government will immediately commission an in-depth study or White Paper on Canada's defence needs and the Canadian Armed Forces.
- 8) A New Democratic Party government will withdraw from the NORAD agreement and seek new forms of multilateral co-operation with the United States and other nations for information gathering and threat assessment.



from p.1

- 9) A New Democratic Party government will not be a member of the NATO alliance.

Federal Convention 1981



***Build the  
Anti-War Party,  
the NDP!***

For further information write to the:  
**NDP Antiwar Committee,**  
184 Main Street, Toronto, Ont.  
M4E 2W1.

**NEW  
DEMOCRATS**

Published by the ONDP Youth Committee

Printed by union labour



(Found in late 1981-LC 1981  
Folder)

# WHO CARES ABOUT THE ARMS RACE? YOU AND THE NDP!

Currently the U.S. and the Soviet Union have enough nuclear bombs to destroy every city in the world with a population of several thousand or more, seven times over....

Every needy person in the world could be provided with adequate food, water, education, health, and housing for a year with the \$17 billion spent every two weeks on armaments....<sup>2</sup>

Military spending kills jobs. A recent study conducted in the U.S. estimates that \$1 billion spent on education would provide 111,000 more jobs than if the same \$1 billion was spent for military purposes....<sup>3</sup>

Over the past two decades, the world trade in conventional armaments has quadrupled. At least 30 governments are in the business of peddling arms, a \$35 billion a year enterprise, concentrated on Third World countries, which are themselves dominated by military governments.<sup>4</sup>

## Canadian Complicity in the Arms Race

Nuclear weapons continue to be stored on Canadian territory ready for use. Under the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) agreement, nuclear missiles for three squadrons of Canadian CF-101 jet interceptors are deployed on quick alert at Canadian Forces Bases in Bagotville, Quebec; Comox, B.C.; and Chatham, N.B.

Components for nuclear weapons are manufactured in Canada with the help of government handouts from the Trudeau Liberals to arms manufacturers. The most prominent of these is Litton Systems Canada Ltd. Litton manufactures part of the U.S. Cruise missile--the LN-35 inertial guidance system, known as the "black box". It is the core of the navigation system which allows the Cruise to guide itself over and around the earth's contours. This is what makes the Cruise such a deadly weapon, for it is very difficult to detect by radar. The Cruise, because of the guidance system, is a blatantly attack oriented weapon, and has a highly destabilizing effect on the arms race--thanks to Canadian complicity.

Vickers Canada Inc. of Montreal, manufactures hull cylinders for the U.S. Navy's Polaris/Poseidon and Trident nuclear submarines, all of which are armed with nuclear weapons.

Through the Canada-U.S. Defence Production Sharing Arrangements (DPSA), the Trudeau Liberals have backed the research and development for military contracting at Vickers and Litton. The DPSA dedicates the industrial, scientific and technological resources of Canada to the U.S. military.

Canada has allowed itself to be pulled further into the nuclear arms race. For example, Canadian delegates supported the Dec. 1979 NATO Council decision to deploy Cruise missiles in Europe. Similarly Canada has given in to an American request that NATO allies increase their military spending. The Trudeau government is raising its military spending from \$5 billion in 1980-81 to \$8 billion in 1983-84, a real (after inflation) increase of 3%.

Most ominously, the Trudeau Liberals, with the blessings of the Joe Clark Tories, have agreed in principle to the testing of the Cruise missile on Canadian soil at the Primrose Lake Air Weapons Range, 260 km. north of Edmonton

*from p. 1*

Canada has become one of the world's leading merchants of nuclear weapons technology. We are the world's eighth largest exporter of military hardware in the world for the period 1960-1982.

Sources

- 1 Ruth Leger Sivard, World Military and Social Expenditures, 1981.
- 2 Op. Cit.
- 3 Center for Defense Information. Based on data from U.S. Dept. of Defense, Congressional Budget Office, and Bureau of Labour Statistics.
- 4 Minority Report on National Security and Defense, Parliament of Canada.

**NEW  
DEMOCRATS**

Published by the ONDP Youth Committee



## NUCLEAR RESOLUTION

(Found in late 1981 LC archive)

Whereas nuclear energy involves substantial health dangers for workers who are in permanent contact with radioactive substances -- for example, workers employed in uranium mining and milling in Canada face up to five times greater chances of dying of lung cancer than the general population, and

Whereas nuclear energy involves risks for the general population from low-level radioactive substances routinely escaping into the environment from nuclear installations, and

Whereas nuclear energy presents serious risks of major accidents which can have tragic consequences -- a reactor melt-down could result in several thousand immediate deaths and tens of thousands later cancer deaths, and

Whereas the nuclear fuel cycle creates radioactive wastes (for which there is no proven method of safe disposal) which pose an inestimable danger to future generations -- continuation of nuclear expansion on the speculation that the waste problem will be solved is an unjustified leap of faith, and

Whereas the export of nuclear raw materials and technology fuels the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and

Whereas nuclear electricity will not provide a ready substitute for increasingly scarce liquid fuels and, even with rapid expansion, is likely to provide only three percent of Canada's total energy needs by the year 2000, and

Whereas reputable sources ranging from the Science Council of Canada to the Harvard Business School have convincingly demonstrated that, by the year 2000, twenty percent of our energy needs could be satisfied through solar sources and a further thirty to forty percent of present energy usage could be cut, with no decline in standard of living, through concentrated conservation programmes, and

Whereas the continued expansion of nuclear energy will, by siphoning off the necessary investment dollars, inhibit or prevent the development of renewable energy forms (solar, biomass, wind, etc.),

Be it Resolved that the New Democratic Party of Canada believes that nuclear power presents unnecessary and unacceptable risks and takes a clear and unequivocal position of opposition to any further development of nuclear energy projects, including uranium mining, until such time as the safe disposal of wastes and the safety of the projects themselves are assured -- and then only as definite need for such projects can be demonstrated;

Be it Further Resolved that the NDP call for a stringent safety programme to be developed and rigorously applied to those nuclear projects already in operation with their being shut down if necessary until such time as they can be operated safely;

Be it Further Resolved that the export of nuclear reactors and nuclear technology cease immediately;

Be it Further Resolved that the NDP call for immediate government action to put into force an extensive, planned and government-financed programme for the development of renewable energy resources and the elimination of waste in our present energy consumption, and that an NDP government would guarantee alternative employment at Union wages, through such a programme, to all workers displaced by the phasing-out of nuclear energy;

Be it Further Resolved that the NDP supports the phasing-out of existing nuclear projects, including uranium mining, as alternative energy sources become available and economically viable.

- submitted by Simon Rosenblum,  
Nickel Belt.

## DISARMAMENT RESOLUTION

WHEREAS

according to the Canadian Labour Congress, the arms drive is racing along at the rate of one million dollars a minute;

AND WHEREAS,

according to the CBRT's Canadian Transport, "the money required to provide adequate food, water, education, health and housing for everyone in the world has been estimated at \$17 billion in a year ... about as much as the world spends on arms every two weeks";

AND WHEREAS

top-ranking U.S. officials now openly discuss the possibility of "winnable nuclear war" and are working to implement this possibility, with potentially catastrophic consequences for the world, through the deployment of first-strike weapons systems such as Trident, MX and Cruise missiles and through alliance systems by such means as the nuclearization of western Europe and the deployment of tactical nuclear weapons through NATO;

AND WHEREAS

both NATO and NORAD clearly have an offensive orientation, as evidenced by their reliance, ostensibly for defensive purposes, upon nuclear weapons systems, thereby encouraging the further stock-piling and proliferation of nuclear weapons throughout the world and thus threatening global security;

AND WHEREAS

complete world-wide disarmament represents the only reasonable alternative to escalation of the war drive and assured mutual destruction;

AND WHEREAS

some eastern bloc countries such as Poland and Rumania have already taken steps towards disarmament in the hopes that this action will inspire other countries to follow their example;

AND WHEREAS

several western European countries are resisting U.S.-inspired NATO efforts to impose nuclear warheads on them, creating a situation where Canadian action could have a decisive effect;

AND WHEREAS

both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are presently exercising foreign policies liable to lead to a nuclear confrontation unless a clear majority of lesser world powers takes an undivided and unconditional stand in favour of global disarmament -- in which Canada could play a leading role;

AND WHEREAS

the Canadian government has hitherto tacitly and hypocritically supported U.S. military aggression in such places as Vietnam by paying lip-service to the cause of peace while subsidizing companies manufacturing U.S. armaments in the name of "providing jobs for Canadians", thereby making Canadian workers an indirect part of the U.S. war machine and making their jobs dependent on continuing U.S. arms build-up and aggression;

AND WHEREAS

Canada can best further the cause of world peace by openly and unequivocally severing its ties with military alliances known throughout the world to be offensive in character and dominated by the United States, one of the world's leading nuclear protagonists;

AND WHEREAS

Canada, once freed from its obligations under NATO and NORAD, could play a leading role in undertaking positive peace initiatives and, without hypocrisy, work with other non-aligned nations to further the cause of world peace and security;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED

that an NDP government would:

1. unilaterally remove all nuclear weapons and support systems from Canada;
2. withdraw from all offensive or provocative military alliances, including such alliances as NATO and NORAD which purport to preserve world peace and security through the use of nuclear weapons and which are dominated by one of the world's leading nuclear protagonists;
3. maintain the Canadian armed forces in a defensive, constructive and peacekeeping role and apply the energies and resources saved by non-involvement in NATO towards the peaceful pursuit of world peace and security;
4. deny government assistance to companies actively supporting the military objectives of foreign countries;
5. stop the export of either raw materials or manufactured goods intended for the manufacture of nuclear weapons;
6. actively encourage and participate in programs intended to further the cause of global peace;
7. subscribe to the principle of a "peace tax", whereby Canadian taxpayers who cannot, in conscience, see their tax money diverted to buy weapons of destruction, could request that an appropriate portion of their taxes be placed in a peace tax fund to be used on projects designed to remove the causes of war;
8. recognize the vital role of genuine non-military aid in redressing global inequalities and thereby reducing global tensions that threaten world security; and
9. endorse the concept of a global referendum on disarmament and take a leading role in facilitating eventual world-wide disarmament.

- submitted by Philip Brown,  
Sudbury, as an alternative  
to the Spadina NATO resolution



and WHEREAS, disarmament represents the only deterrent to escalation of the war drive and mutual assured destruction

and WHEREAS, eastern bloc countries like Poland and Rumania have already taken steps toward disarmament in the hope that this action will inspire other countries to follow their example

and WHEREAS, several western European countries are resisting US-NATO efforts to impose nuclear warheads on them, creating a situation where Canadian action could have a decisive effect

BE IT RESOLVED

That the NDP call upon the Canadian government to unilaterally remove all nuclear weapons and support systems from our country

That the NDP campaign for the Canadian government to withdraw from all military alliances such as NATO/NORAD which employ nuclear weapons

That Spadina riding circulate this statement to other ridings and urge them to develop resolutions to this effect for the upcoming federal convention

That Spadina riding association elect a committee to oversee publicity, circulation and development of this statement.

From p. 1

WHEREAS

only when public planning and control replaces profit-seeking will Canada's natural resources be developed or utilized in a manner that is consistent with long term Canadian needs and in a way that will maximize the opportunities that the "economic rent" coming from our resources provides for defending and expanding Canada's industrial economy, and

WHEREAS

the natural resources of Canada are rightfully the property of the people of Canada,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED

that the New Democratic Party commit itself to the central role of public ownership in the management of our primary resource industries.

- Sudbury Basin Left Caucus

## INDUSTRIAL STRATEGY RESOLUTION

WHEREAS

the private enterprise system has brought serious economic problems to Canada with record unemployment and inflation, and

WHEREAS

the objectives and purposes of domestic and multi-national corporations are self-serving and fail to represent the interests of the wider community, and

WHEREAS

it would be foolhardy to depend on these same corporations to develop an alternative industrial strategy given their inability or unwillingness to create full employment, and

WHEREAS

without the direct control that ownership gives, governments have little bargaining clout with which to counter the economic power of large corporations and to force them to act in a socially responsible manner,

BE IT RESOLVED

that the New Democratic Party produce plans for an industrial strategy in which public ownership is the major tool to control the economy for people and also a means to introduce democratic and cooperative control of the work place;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED

that the New Democratic Party conduct an educational campaign to explain the increasing failures of the private enterprise economy and demonstrate how public ownership of major corporations is the only effective tool to control the economy in the interests of ordinary people.



(Notations by R.D.)

2. others  
Mayor  
focus

any take on  
Ronald Reagan  
service candidate  
coredible

Bea Rasmussen  
100 000  
no seat

MUNICIPALITY WIDE CAMPAIGNS - METRO NDP EXECUTIVE

Plan 3 years

United Party

Drawn from elsewhere

WHEREAS Metro NDP has established itself as a major force in municipal politics within Metropolitan Toronto over the past decade; and

WHEREAS Metro NDP has developed a network of effective ward organizations, many of which have already been successful in electing NDP members to municipal councils and school boards; and

WHEREAS Metro NDP foresees the potential for further gains of aldermanic and school trustee seats in the November 1982 municipal elections, through the continued work of these established ward organizations; and

WHEREAS an ultimate goal of Metro NDP is to win a majority of the seats on municipal councils and school boards within Metropolitan Toronto;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED

Coordinated  
defer

(1) That Metro NDP and the ward organizations utilize their human and financial resources to achieve gains in the election of aldermanic and school trustee candidates in the 1982 municipal elections;

(2) That Metro NDP, consistent with the above, not run candidates for Mayor/Board of Control in the 1982 election;

bull

(3) That in the event that circumstances change in any municipality before November 1982, the Executive of Metro NDP exercise its constitutional authority to call a meeting of Metro NDP Council to discuss financing of Mayoralty/Board of Control campaigns and to call a Nomination Meeting to select Mayoralty and/or Board of Control candidates.

1+2  
mutually exclusive

Replace 2, 3 with 1

1 overcount  
Direct Reagan - empty gestures 2, 3  
do we have a candidate

Small not running

to allow for situation

2

Separate out

clashes



(Found in 1982)

A discussion for Toronto area NDPers

# The WAFFLE — 10 years after

## *Speakers:*

- **John Bullen** -M.A. thesis on the Waffle -*Agenda* editorial board
- **Dan Heap** -former Waffle activist -M.P. for Spadina
- **Gord Doctorow** -Orion NDP member -former Waffle member

**Friday, July 16, 8:00 p.m.**

**Labour Lyceum**

**33 Cecil Street** (just east of Huron)



Sponsored by Toronto ONDP Left Caucus members

*Coming up this fall!*

**ONDP Left Caucus Conference  
October 1,2 in Toronto**

(Found in 1980)

THE WAFFLE TEN YEARS LATER - Reprinted by permission from the Dovercourt NDP Newsletter.

At its May meeting the Toronto Region of the NDP Left Caucus decided to hold a forum on the history and significance of the Waffle to the NDP. The Waffle has sparked much controversy on the Left with debates in Canadian Dimension and other left magazines. It was felt that newer members of the party would also be interested in such a forum.

The Waffle actively promoted many issues within the NDP, such as the right of Quebec to self-determination, environmental and women's issues. However, the major difference with the NDP leadership was the Waffle's socialist and nationalist economic program, which called for extensive public ownership of manufacturing and resource industries. The Waffle argued this was the only solution to Canada's long-term economic problems of a capitalist economy dominated by American corporations and American government imperialist policies. It did this as the most prominent left group to function within the NDP in a highly organized fashion. For these reasons a discussion of the Waffle is of major significance to socialist New Democrats today, as the Left re-emerges as an organized force in the NDP.

The forum was held in air-conditioned comfort on a steamy July night. John Bullen, a historian from Ottawa, Dan Heap, M.P., and Gord Doctorow, a former Waffle activist and chairperson of the NDP Anti-War Committee were the panelists. Bullen gave a historical outline of the Waffle, from its founding, through to its impact on policy and leadership of the NDP, and finally its expulsion as an organized group within the party and its disintegration outside the NDP.

Dan Heap, who has been critical of many aspects of Waffle operation, dealt with the positive impact the Waffle had on a host of serious issues facing Canadians, through the Waffle's ability to publicize and politicize. Although critical of part of Waffle policy, Heap outlined that at a time of severe economic crisis for Canada's working class the Waffle's nationalist and socialist economic program is again what socialist New Democrats must be fighting for.

Gord Doctorow criticized the elitist operation of the Waffle, while putting the Waffle in the context of continual struggle between various organized Left Caucuses and the NDP leadership around anti-war issues and socialist program. The Waffle was an important part of the Left's history within the NDP. He argued that what is needed now is an organized Left that can seriously tackle



pushing for a socialist economic program and do it in a fully open manner that involves rank and file New Democrats in it discussions.

The forum was well-attended (40) and there was good discussion from the floor after the panelists had spoken. Hopefully the Toronto Left Caucus and the Ontario Left Caucus will hold other forums in the near future.

by David Tomczak

(Founded in 1982)

**A Public Forum:**

# **Labour's Response to the Economic Crisis**

***Speakers:***

• **Dave Patterson**

United Steelworkers of America

• **Francis Lankin**

Ontario Public Service Employees Union

• **Marv Gandall**

Federal Union Negotiator

**Friday, October 1**

**8:00 pm**

**Ryerson Mini Theatre**

**Jorgenson Hall**

**Victoria St. & Gerrard**



# ONDP Left Caucus <sup>(1982)</sup> Conference

**Saturday, October 2**  
**Ryerson Mini Theatre**  
**Jorgenson Hall**  
Victoria St. & Gerrard

## **Agenda:**

- 9:30 am **Registration**
- 10:00 am **Disarmament & Peace Movement**
- 11:00 am **Role of the Left Caucus**
- 12:30 pm **Lunch**
- 1:30 pm **Alternate Economic Policy for the NDP**
- 3:00 pm **Policy Statement Discussion**
- 4:30 pm **Adjournment**

## **Left Caucus needs \$\$\$\$\$\$**

The conference will cost several hundred dollars to put on. Outstanding bills need to be paid.

Please send cheques to  
**ONDP Left Caucus**  
c/o 375 Montrose Ave.,  
Toronto, Ont. M6G 3H2

**Registration: \$5.<sup>00</sup>**

**Childcare Available**—please notify in advance

**For information:** Dave Tomczak (416) 536-6561 George Ehring (416) 486-8361  
Simon Rosenblum (705) 673-8654



The draft version of the Party's new Manifesto, to be adopted at the upcoming federal NDP convention this June in Regina, Saskatchewan, has finally become available in the past few days. The document attempts to update the 50-year old Regina Manifesto - it opens up discussion about the NDP's direction and its broad political perspective for some time to come. We feel that this discussion is of key significance to those who want to see the party move to the left. A major opportunity exists for the left to rally the party membership behind its own counter-Manifesto posing a socialist perspective.

Come to the Toronto Regional all-day conference of the Ontario left caucus to discuss what should be in the left caucus counter-Manifesto.

Guest Speaker:  
at 10:00 a.m.  
SHARP

**GREGORY BAUM**

on "The Bishop's Statement"

Place: Recreation Room  
Eighth Floor  
550 Ontario Street  
(One block west of  
Parliament Street off  
Wellesley Avenue)

Time: 10:00 a.m.  
to 4:00 p.m.  
Saturday  
January 29, 1983

Party to follow at 9:00 p.m., same location.

For further information, contact George Ehring, 486-8361  
or Laura Pascoe, 924-4934

The Saturday panels are key to the success of the Left Caucus  
They must be used to bring everyone with any talent & commitment  
up front - from out of the closet

Panels don't put too much undue stress <sup>on</sup> people - they can come  
out strong or slip back - gives a multi appeal - and  
present many new faces & let the old ones that want to -  
to consolidate - the Caucus can only be built by getting commitment  
can't go anywhere on basis of anonymity,

It is incomprehensible if the panels don't have all  
steering committee members on one or another - it's called "Steering  
Committee"

Chris, Wayne, Dave, Lois, Harry, Angie, Mary, etc  
they also should be open for outside Toronto key people  
to appear up front - certainly like Marv & Anne Dowson  
Tired Giger, Peter Harper & Ruth, Carl Cuneo, Hamilton, Harry Paine  
Neil Fetich + Ron Bridges of St. Kitts, John Badher  
<sup>Hamilton</sup> and some of the Londoners, Peterboro + others who came to  
Hamilton convention expressed interest but weren't followed up on

If we use the Saturday to open up the situation - convince  
people that they can pass resolutions in their ridings stand  
as delegates, we can shake up the convention + ~~put~~ phone for the  
there - with the aid of the BC leaderships resolution [Brian Emery (Wayne)] - what about Jack Layton?

John Badher will speak - he is convinced Cuneo will  
Marv & will speak - so will Harry Paine

(NB)

Member of NDP  
to register by Saturday  
only NDP speakers - leaves as open to  
being anti party -

Kashner  
Chris Ross  
Anne  
Giger

parliament  
adopted women conference  
conf. of NDP annual  
meeting of OLSK  
small

# PUBLIC FORUM

Friday, February 25th  
—8 pm—

*At:* THE STUDIO, Bathurst St. United Church  
736 Bathurst St.

[Just south of the Bloor / Bathurst Subway Station]

## “*THE ROOTS OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS*”

### Speakers:

David Robertson — NDP Research

David Wolfe — Asst. Professor of Political Science,  
U. of T.

Gord Cleveland — Economist

*After the Forum—*

### DANCE

*in support of the MINI-SCHOOL STRIKE*

AT ROBINA BALLROOM,

1 ROBINA AVE. (St. Claire & Oakwood)

—CASH BAR—

\$8

—LIVE BAND—

For information, contact Ruth Danziger, Action Daycare — 362-1033 or 537-5383





# ONTARIO LEFT CAUCUS CONFERENCE

**Saturday, February 26th**

**Metropolitan Community Church**

**IN THE BATHURST STREET UNITED CHURCH**

**730 Bathurst Street**

**[Just south of the Bloor/Bathurst Subway Station]**

## ***AGENDA***

**9:00 AM — Registration (Fee \$5)**

**9:30 AM — Introduction of Left Caucus Manifesto**

**10:00 AM — Workshops on the L.C. Manifesto**

**12 o'clock: Lunch**

**1:30 PM — GUEST SPEAKER**

**George Latkiewicz**

**Executive Member, Solidarity Support Committee**

**2:00 PM — Plenary Discussion on the L.C. Manifesto**

**4:30 — Adjournment**

### **Note:**

**Copies of Manifesto  
available at  
Friday Night  
Forum**


### ***CHILD CARE PROVIDED***

**Register in advance: contact Dave Tomczak, 536-6561,  
or George Ehring, 486-8361**



# **ONDP LEFT CAUCUS**

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**"The axer Report: wrong answers  
to the right questions"**

**SPEAKERS:** MEL WATKINS, PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS  
DAVID ROBERTSON, NDP RESEARCH  
SIMON ROSENBLUM, ONDP LEFT CAUCUS

**CHAIRPERSON:** MARY ROWLES, ONDP WOMEN'S COMMITTEE

**LOCATION:** MEDICAL SCIENCES BLDG., U of T

**DATE:** MARCH 24, SATURDAY

**TIME:** LUNCH BREAK, PROVINCIAL COUNCIL

**INFORMATION:** KIMBERLEY WILDE 466-11307

Saturday March 30

Discussion opens at 10 continues to 11:30

- (a) Subject NATO and Socialist Positions Around the World

Leo Panitch chairperson - Wayne Roberts  
woman open

- (b) Subject NATO and an independent foreign policy

Gordon Doctorow chairperson - David Tomczak  
woman open

two simultaneous presentations  
from 10 a.m. to 11:15 a.m.

2 assigned (1 (2 persons  
to speak from the floor-allowed 5 min.  
the rest of the time assigned to the  
floor for contributions of 3 minutes  
2 assigned (1 (2

opens 11:30 continues till 12:45

- chores*  
(c) Subject U.S. sets NATO pattern in Central America

John Foster chairperson - Mary Rowles  
Abbie Polonetski

2 assigned (1 (2

- opens 12:45*  
(d) Subject NATO and the Nuclear Arms Race

Mel Watkins chairperson - Zane Boyd  
M. Hancock

2 assigned (1 (2

Brian Palmer & woman open

- (e) Open discussion on the days themes from 2 to 4 p.m.

joint chairpersons - Mary Rowles & David Homcsak

*David*  
*2:15 Dan Hay kick off*

- (f) Policy proposals from 4 to 4:30

*David*

*Women - Laura Pascoe*

*Lois Bedard*

*Anne Dawson*

*Va Thompson*

*Ray McPherson*

*Angie Sedina*

*Other assignees*

*John Becker*

*Bob Kasher*

*Chris Ross*

*Mary Eardle*

*Harry Payne*

*Harry Roberts*

7  
8  
9

*(New)*

*Winsten*

*St Kits*

*London*



Dear Left Caucus Supporter:

The Left Caucus Manifesto, the product of our February Conference, is finally out! And there are already signs that we can make a big impact at the Regina Federal convention and in the party. An Ottawa riding passed it out sent it to all riding secretaries. Sudbury, Nickle Belt and Willowdale passed it in principle or entirely.

The deadline for federal resolution meetings is May 2nd. We hope all Left Caucus supporters will try to get it passed and keep us informed. We also need names of individuals who endorse it.

We have had to take advantage of this tremendous educational opportunity without adequate funding! We will need more copies to hand out at convention. We need to mail as many as possible so that people can build support before the convention. The whole operation will cost a minimum of \$2,000.00 So dig deep. It's the biggest chance we've had to really influence our party.

In solidarity,

WAYNE ROBERTS, on behalf of the ONDP Left Caucus Steering Committee

Send all information re endorsements, riding meetings, etc. and, Requests for additional copies and other information, etc. and,

MONEY, MONEY, MONEY, TO: ONDP Left Caucus  
c/o 375 Montrose Avenue  
Toronto, Ontario  
M6G 3H2

MAKES CHEQUES PAYABLE TO: ONDP LEFT CAUCUS!

FOR FINANCIAL STATEMENT SEE OVER.

NOTE: THIS STATEMENT WAS PREPARED BY SOMEONE WHO IS NOT AN ACCOUNTANT!

LEFT CAUCUS FINANCIAL STATEMENT (Submitted by David Tomczak, April 15, 1983).

Balance after all expenses  
of Feb./83 conference paid: 226.40  
Interest on account: 3.37  
Raised at Apr. 13  
Toronto Meeting: 121.40  
TOTAL CASH AVAILABLE  
FOR EXPENSES(Apr. 13, 83): 351.17

DEBTS: PRINTING FOR 82 PROVINCIAL CONVENTION LEAFLETS:

559.43

NEW EXPENSES: Typesetting & Printing  
for Manifesto(intial): 526.81  
Typesetting & Printing  
for Intro Letter to  
Manifesto: 95.64  
Additional Printing of  
Manifesto & Intro: 411.33  
Manifesto distribution  
outside Ontario: 41.40  
Mailing of Manifesto  
to ONDP Left Caucus: 140.50  
TOTAL: NEW EXENSES: ---- 1,215.68

DISBURSEMENTS: Ontario Mailing: (140.50)  
Outside Ontario distribution: (41.40)  
Printer: (150.00)  
TOTAL: DISBURSEMENTS: (331.90)

UNPAID NEW EXPENSES: 883.78

883.78

TOTAL LEFT CAUCUS DEBT(Combines existing debt plus unpaid new expenses): 1,443.21  
(All debt owed to the same printer)

CASH REMAINING FOR NEW EXPENSES AND DEBT RETIREMENT:

Cash on hand(April 13, 83) 351.17  
(from above)  
Minus above disbursements: (331.90)  
TOTAL CASH AVAILABLE: 19.27  
(April 15, 1983)

NOTE: 3,000 Manifestos and Intro Letters have been printed.

SEND ALL CONTRIBUTIONS URGENTLY TO: ONDP LEFT CAUCUS  
c/o 375 Montrose Avenue  
Toronto, Ontario  
M6G 3H2

CHEQUES CAN BE MADE OUT TO: ONDP LEFT CAUCUS!

WE CANNOT CARRY THIS DEBT AND CARRY OUT EFFECTIVE DISTRIBUTION AND PUBLICIZATION  
OF OUR MANIFESTO!!!!!!

# Socialist nation *Star May 28/83* advocated by NDP leftists

By John Spears Toronto Star

A manifesto calling for a socialist Canada, drawn up by the so-called left caucus of the New Democratic Party and endorsed by five elected Metro politicians, will be presented to the party's national convention in July.

"Only socialism can turn the boundless potential of our people and resources to the creation of a world free from tyranny, greed, poverty and exploitation," the manifesto declares.

Its principles have been endorsed by Scarborough West MPP Richard Johnston, Toronto Alderman Jack Layton, and Toronto Board of Education trustees Doug Little, Beare Weatherup and Rosario Marchese.

The manifesto outlines a 14-point platform including:

□ "Public ownership of the decisive sectors of the economy and, in particular, the resource, finance, manufacturing, transportation and communications sectors."

□ "A comprehensive industrial strategy dedicated to full employment. Massive public works programs and a shorter work week for the same take-home pay will be key elements in establishing everyone's right to a job."

## Universal access

□ "Free, universal access to all levels of education from day care to university."

□ "The right of self-determination for the Quebecois and native peoples."

□ Immediate withdrawal from NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and NORAD (North American Air Defence Command.)

Little said the manifesto re-affirms existing NDP policy and advocates few measures that aren't already NDP doctrine.

"The left is saying the party should stay where it is," said Little, instead of moving toward the political centre.

He said the document puts forth a long-term strategy, a "vision of society."

"No one would try to put it all in during the first term of a (NDP) government," Little said.

He said the Parkdale-High Park federal NDP riding association supported the document by a vote of 48 to 1.

## Forceful stand sought

Layton said the manifesto is part of a continuing debate within the NDP about how strongly to stress the party's fundamental programs.

He said it represents "a prodding from within to take a more forceful stand, and not to be nervous about that."

The left caucus is a "very casual grouping of people" with no formal membership, Layton said.

Johnston, who ran for the leadership of the NDP in Ontario, said he supports the goals and philosophies of the manifesto but "has problems with some of the wording," such as the manifesto's stand on Quebec.

Another supporter of the manifesto is Malcolm Buchanan, president of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation.

Buchanan said he supports the manifesto as a private individual, not as president of the teachers' federation.



# The NDP faces a fight from its left

While a nation turns its eyes to the Tory leadership race, the massive problems of the federal New Democratic Party go little noticed.

But the NDP will assume centre stage in July when it celebrates the 50th anniversary of the Regina Manifesto by holding its biennial meeting in the Saskatchewan capital.

And it will be a badly dispirited and confused party that will gather at that time.

The party stood at 19 per cent in the latest Gallup poll. The Tories are threatening its power base in the West. The NDP has been repeatedly frustrated at its inability to turn the anti-Liberal sentiment among voters to its benefit.

Meanwhile, the party failed to beat Premier William Bennett and his Socreds in the May 5 election in British Columbia, Canada's most heavily unionized province.

And the party holds only one provincial government - Manitoba - with bleak prospects in all the others and even bleaker prospects federally.

All in all, it figures to be a not-so-happy gathering in Regina.

To add to its miseries, the party is threatened with one of those why-aren't-we-more-socialist debates that have dotted its history.

A group called the Ontario Left Caucus wants the party to quit cringing in the face of

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## Analysis *Star, May 29/83*

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the supposed swing of Canadians to the right and get back to the party's socialist roots.

"Our goal is a socialist Canada, a new social order based on common ownership of our resources and industry, co-operation, production for use and genuine democracy," the group's draft manifesto for circulation to convention delegates says. "Only socialism can turn the boundless potential of our people and resources to the creation of a world free from tyranny, greed, poverty and exploitation." The left caucus wants the NDP to adopt strong policies for public ownership as the answer to unemployment and for Canadian withdrawal from NATO and from the nuclear arms race.

In short, it would be a head-on test of the theory that Canadians have drifted to the right.

Some in the NDP will view the manifesto as suicidal.

But the party so far has failed to come to grips with its sliding popularity.

This leads to the argument that the party's attempts to fudge its real nature doesn't win it any new friends and may be alienating some of the ones they have.

The to-thy-own-self-be-true urge has

always been strong in the NDP even if it leads to having candidates carried out on their shields because of it.

Federal Leader Ed Broadbent tries to steer a more middle-of-the road course than the uncompromising socialists in his party would like.

Broadbent belongs to the school that believes the NDP needs an issue, not a philosophical orgy, to turn its fortunes around. Another member of the same school is Ontario NDP Leader Bob Rae.

Rae after all won the Ontario leadership over MPP Richard Johnston (Scarborough West), who is endorsing the principles if not the wording of the manifesto. Johnston was more leftist than the other candidates for that leadership.

However, the same party, at its 1976 convention, felt it was re-asserting its roots by selecting Michael Cassidy as leader. That move, made in response to the emphasis by previous leader Stephen Lewis on social rather than economic or public ownership issues, led to the disastrous (for the NDP) 1977 election.

In any event, the mood doesn't promise to be optimistic or even all that friendly when the party gathers to pay homage to their predecessors who proclaimed a socialist Canada as their goal.

(Forward in 1983)

PROPOSALS FOR LEFT CAUCUS

The following proposals are to be submitted to the Left Caucus Steering Committee in preparation for the provincial convention. If adopted, they would then be submitted for ratification to the Toronto meetings of the Left Caucus on June 6 and June 14.

*David*

(1) The Left Caucus will undertake to prepare and run a slate of at least 15 candidates to contest executive posts at the convention. A search committee will be struck off to establish a suitable list of candidates aiming to include presidential and vice presidential candidates if feasible.

*Lois*

(2) The Left Caucus slate will be based on a common program which calls for revitalization of the party on a comprehensive socialist platform. The slate will also seek to identify itself with key resolutions before the convention, e.g. in support of abortion clinics, in support of anti-imperialist struggles, etc. A committee will be struck to draft such a program to be presented to a Left Caucus meeting in Toronto for ratification.

# WOMEN'S COMMITTEE

(FOUNDED  
IN 1983)

NEW DEMOCRATS

NEO-DEMOCRATES

PUBLIC FORUM

## FEMINISM & SOCIALISM

- \* CAROLYN EGAN
- \* VARDA BURSTYN

**Friday June 24th 7:30 pm**

ROOM 228, MAIN BUILDING, QUEEN'S PARK

## CAUCUS on CONVENTION RESOLUTIONS

WOMEN DELEGATES TO CONVENTION IN REGINA, AND OTHER INTERESTED NEW-DEMOCRATS WILL MEET TO DISCUSS RESOLUTIONS BEING FORWARDED TO REGINA.

ROOM 228, MAIN BUILDING, QUEEN'S PARK

**Saturday June 25th 1:00-4:00pm**

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT, MARY ROWLES, 965-6386



# NATO MYTHS AND FACTS

**MYTH:** NATO was formed to protect the west against the Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact countries.

**FACT:** NATO was formed as part of a three-pronged attack, including the cold war programme outlined in the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, initiated by the United States after the second world war to ensure the dominance of capitalism in Western Europe. The capitalist system was seriously weakened in these countries by the depression, fascist politics and the war, and it was increasingly under challenge from domestic left-wing movements.

The NATO alliance was formed in 1949, six years before the Warsaw Pact was signed in 1955.



**MYTH:** The security and peace of the west can only be maintained by U.S./NATO nuclear superiority.

**FACT:** Contrary to the opinion of the U.S. military complex the nuclear balance of power has not shifted in favour of the east. In fact, instead of maintaining a deterrent, the result of current U.S./NATO strategy has been to dangerously lower the nuclear threshold. American leaders now openly discuss the possibility of "winnable nuclear war" and are working to implement this possibility through first-strike weapons capability. The nuclear arms race left forward in December, 1979, when the NATO Council decided to install 572 so-called "theatre" nuclear missiles aimed at the Soviet Union in Western Europe.

Ironically, NATO, originally intended to "protect" Western Europe, now sees Europe as the main nuclear "theatre" in a limited war in which the chief protagonists would be the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

"While we remain committed to NATO we are also committed to the use of nuclear weapons on our behalf . . . that is, committed to risking the destruction of civilization. If our foreign and defense policies are to be founded on morality and realism they must exclude membership in alliances which depend upon nuclear power. Even in terms of seeking to persuade others to deny themselves the bomb our present position is hypocritical."

— Kenneth McNaught  
Canadian historian and socialist

**MYTH:** NATO is an alliance dedicated to the preservation of freedom and democracy.

**FACT:** Despite the commitment in NATO's charter to defend "Free institutions", the alliance has readily compromised this principle to support its basic interests. The right-wing dictatorship of Salazar in Portugal was welcomed into NATO. Yet, after the democratic revolution in 1974 there was open talk of expelling Portugal. This political bullying was reinforced by NATO manoeuvres in Portuguese territorial waters.

U.S./NATO military advisors to the Greek army helped plant the military takeover of that country in April 1967. This dictatorship relied upon tacit U.S./NATO support to survive.

Countries in the NATO alliance have led the world in exporting political repression. More than half of the post-war assistance received by France from NATO and the Marshall Plan was used to reinforce her colonial occupations in Algeria and Vietnam. Similarly Belgium and Portugal relied upon NATO arms for their colonial rule in countries such as Angola, Mozambique and the Congo.

Armies of the NATO nations have killed over five million people, mostly peasants, in direct military action in the third world. The list of target countries is long: Madagascar, Kenya, Algeria, Vietnam, Korea, China, Cuba, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Egypt, Aden, Mozambique, and many more.

It would be difficult for any Canadian government to maintain a serious commitment to democracy and change towards socialism when it is involved in an alliance which actively plots against progressive changes in the west, and when it is allied to the world's major imperialist actors. It would be impossible for the rest of the world to believe our good intentions.



Presented for your consideration  
by the Ontario Left Caucus.

*We should reproduce*

1983

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# THE CAUCUS AND THE CONSTITUTION:

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## *What Have They Gotten Us Into?*

Consider. The federal caucus, by supporting Trudeau's constitutional resolution, has publicly committed New Democrats to supporting:

- **A unilateral and unpopular constitution-making process.** The constitution wasn't inspired, developed or supported by the peoples of Canada. It was engineered by the Trudeau Liberals and is being imposed on a reluctant and even hostile population, especially in Quebec and the West.
- **A veto power by the Supreme Court.** Nine appointed judges with mostly conservative biases will be strengthened at the expense of elected legislators. Entrenchment of the charter of rights, with its many loopholes, simply entrenches the power of the court to veto progressive legislation. This is the same Supreme Court which struck down Saskatchewan's legislation on windfall profits in the oil industry, and its attempt to regulate resource development.
- **A veto power by the Senate.** Socialists have always demanded abolition of this antidemocratic relic. Trudeau's modified Senate will continue to exist, will still be appointed, and will have enhanced powers to thwart popular legislation.
- **The supremacy of God.** By decreeing the supremacy of God, the constitution is not only offensive to those who believe religion is a private matter, it challenges the basic democratic precept of separation of church and state, and the supremacy of the people.

In exchange, the constitution offers virtually nothing to New Democrats. There is nothing of substance for:

- **Working people.** No right to work, no right to a living wage, no right to organize or strike, no right to housing, health care, or education, no right to social ownership and control of our economy.
- **Quebecois.** No right to self-determination, loss of the right to legislate to protect the French language and culture.
- **Women.** No right to abortion, to equal pay, to day care.
- **Native Peoples.** No clear recognition of land claims,

traditional hunting or fishing rights, or self-determination.

- **Gays.** No right to freedom from discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation.
- **Civil libertarians.** No effective protection against repressive state legislation, notably the War Measures Act, no effective curbs on the powers of state police agencies like the RCMP.

What is the net effect of the federal leadership's stubborn insistence in backing Trudeau?

- It has, through its stand, publicly repudiated fundamental principles of our party.
- It has reinforced the impression that we are an appendage of the Liberals.
- It has provoked a public split in the federal caucus and throughout the party.
- It has abandoned the only NDP government in the country.
- It has undermined the party's prospects, particularly in the West and in Quebec.
- It has denied us the splendid opportunity of leading all Canadians in a struggle for a genuinely democratic constitution.

For all of these reasons, this convention should censure the federal caucus majority for its stand on the constitution, and insist that the caucus publicly withdraw all support for Trudeau's constitutional proposals.

Instead of supporting Trudeau's made-in-Britain constitution, we should be supporting the movement to draw up a made-in-Canada constitution through the election of a popular constituent assembly representative of all peoples, regions and groups in the country.

Presented for your consideration  
by the Ontario Left Caucus

## OUR RESOURCES — WHO PROFITS?

It should not be surprising to anyone when private corporations, looking after their own profits, exploit our resources in ways that aren't in our long term interest. **Canada's natural wealth should belong to the Canadian people as a whole, not private corporations.** And on the basis of controlling those resources through public ownership, we can begin to convert this wealth into a manufacturing base.

Ontario United Auto Workers

Multi-national corporations have exploited our natural resources and locked Canadians into a position of dependency and under-development. Raw or partly processed materials have been shipped out of this country with little of the wealth returning to the people of Canada. Private corporations such as INCO reap the benefits of safe investments while governments are forced to undertake less profitable ventures. Furthermore, these corporations have poisoned Ontario's work environment and threatened our ecological balance.

The development of Ontario's natural resource industries must be tied to an industrial strategy which will use the profits generated by the resource sector to create jobs in secondary industry related to the resource base.



ALL ABOARD

Such a strategy will protect our supplies of non-renewable resources and plan their use to ensure economic growth and stability. Our natural resources must be a lever for public development rather than the source of private profit for multi-national giants whose interests conflict with our own.

Only when public ownership replaces private profit-seeking will our natural resources be developed and utilized in a manner that defends and expands Canada's industrial economy and is consistent with long-term Canadian needs. It is a practical as well as an ideological question. Even Eric Kierans, a past Federal cabinet minister and President of the Montreal Stock Exchange, arrived at the case for public ownership of natural resources. "It is not a question of capitalism or socialism. It is simply searching for the better way," he said in his 1973 report to the Manitoba government. As New Democrats we are justly entitled to point out that socialism IS the better way. And it is our duty to lead the way towards that goal.

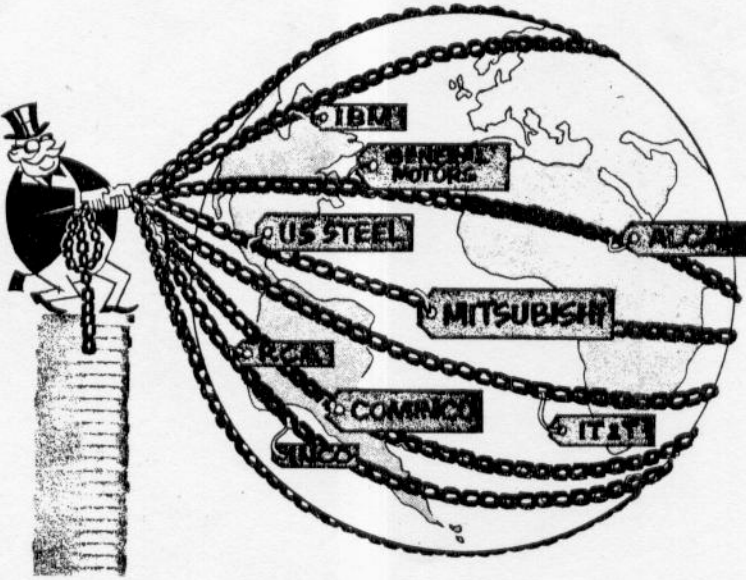
But it must be recognized that public ownership alone is not a universal remedy. The quality of working life has rarely been improved in places where private capitalism has simply been replaced by state capitalism, as hydro and hospital workers in Ontario, among others, can testify. To guarantee a truly progressive future, workers and community groups must participate in the decision-making process at all levels of industry.

When these changes have occurred, then can it be said with confidence: "The Gifts of Nature are for the People."

Presented for your consideration  
by the **ONDP Left Caucus.**



# RESOURCE OWNERSHIP: A NATURAL NDP ISSUE



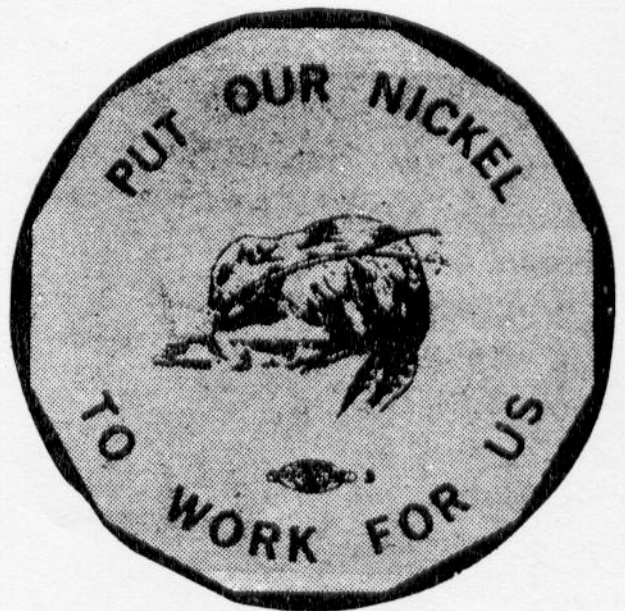
Our policy of public ownership of our natural resource industries is one issue which clearly distinguishes us from the Liberals and Tories. Yet we as a Party have been extremely hesitant to take this issue to the public — almost as if we were afraid of it.

Before the last provincial election, the ONDP Election Planning Committee argued that it would not be expedient to make our resource ownership policy a priority in the election. In Caucus, the ONDP House Leader, Economic Critic and others argued strenuously that we should put this issue up front, but they were outnumbered by their more cautious colleagues. Unfortunately, it seems that those who have never publicly agitated for such measures are the most cynical regarding their acceptance by the public.

During the current leadership campaign, all three candidates have talked about public ownership of resources, but it remains to be seen whether they will do anything about it. It will take strong and continuous input from the general membership to guarantee that our next leader follows up his commitment to public ownership with aggressive action.

A look at the federal party's record is also discouraging. The last federal convention passed a tough resolution calling for public ownership of Canada's natural resource industries. But our federal caucus has shied away from telling Canadians of our stand and explaining how vital public ownership of resources is to Canada's economic future. Only in relation to the oil and gas industries has anything like this been said — and then only after we were completely out-flanked by the Federal Liberals.

Let's face facts. If the NDP is going to put forward real solutions to Ontario's economic crisis we must forthrightly challenge the domination of corporate power. And where better to start than with our primary resources — our most precious heritage.



Presented for your consideration  
by the **ONDP Left Caucus.**

# NUCLEAR ENERGY:

## An Unacceptable and Unnecessary Risk

*The splitting of the atom has changed everything save our modes of thinking and thus we drift toward unparalleled catastrophe.*

—Albert Einstein (lifelong socialist)

+ *the begin + nuclear war*

1. Workers employed in uranium mining and milling in Canada face from two to five times greater chances of dying of lung cancer than the general population (Ontario Ham Report) and even better-ventilated European mines don't show enough improvement.

2. A major B.C. Medical Association report warns that, according to the best available medical evidence, chronic exposure to the now "permissible" level of radon gas in homes (due to uranium tailings) may cause a 40% to 50% increase above the normal incidence of lung cancer (that is, an extra 20 to 30 lung cancer deaths per 1,000 people exposed). Such standards might well be viewed "as tantamount to allowing an industrially-induced epidemic of cancer" says the report.

3. Scientists have found that low-level radiation (which routinely escapes from nuclear facilities) is much more dangerous than was previously believed and in many cases the cellular damage created by continuous low-level exposure is more extensive than the damage created to periodic exposure to larger doses. A recent U.S. federal government study, described as the most sweeping ever undertaken, concludes that exposure to low-level radiation is a serious public health hazard.

4. The Ontario government Porter Commission concluded that a realistic probability for a CANDU reactor meltdown (causing tens of thousands of immediate and delayed cancers) is about 1 in 10,000 per reactor per year. With 12 reactors planned near Toronto alone, each operating for approximately 30 years, the probability of at least one disaster becomes 1/28. And if, as Dr. Gordon Edwards suggests, Porter's estimates happen to be low by a factor of five, then the probability of one meltdown near Toronto in the next 30 years is about 1/6. Russian roulette, anyone?

5. "Perhaps the waste problem is manageable in theory; perhaps not. I hope it is. But many things that are theoretic-

© 1979, Sidney Harris.



"First we have to convince the people that good health isn't everything."

cally doable never get done. Certainly the sorry history of radioactive waste management in this country to date provides no basis for confidence that things will work out."

— Gus Speth,  
U.S. Council on Environmental Quality

6. Concern about the lack of any feasible solution to the waste disposal problem led the Canadian Medical Association to pass a resolution calling it "irresponsible for the Government of Canada to allow further development of uranium mining and reactor construction until a safe proven permanent disposal technology is developed for the wastes that have already been generated."

7. Having a nuclear power plant makes acquiring nuclear arms much easier. Five countries that have chosen to purchase the CANDU reactor system from Canada — India, South Korea, Argentina, Pakistan and Taiwan — are all thought to have or be heading for nuclear weapons capability. It is unconscionable for Canada to sell nuclear reactors or uranium to such repressive regimes.

Presented for your consideration  
by the Ontario Left Caucus.

# Towards a Sane Energy Future

The plain reality is that we can live without nuclear power, but we can't live with it.

— George Wald,  
Harvard Nobel Prize Winner

The risk presented by nuclear power must be balanced against the expected gains and the alternative ways of creating energy. Nuclear power currently provides only about 1.3% of Canada's delivered energy. That is less than 1/3 of the energy which is provided each year on the west coast by the burning of "hog fuel". Even Arthur Porter (chairman of Ontario's Royal Commission on Electric Power Planning and a born-again nuclear evangelist) admitted that by the year 2,000, nuclear energy can realistically provide only 3% of Canada's total energy needs. Why should we take such risks and spend such enormous amounts of public money for such a pittance of our total energy needs.

Renewable energy technologies are available which have all the advantages claimed for nuclear power and can do everything it can do better . . . except make bombs. Reputable sources ranging from the Science Council of Canada to the Harvard Business School have convincingly demonstrated that, by the year 2,000, 20% of our energy needs could be satisfied through solar sources and a further 30% to 40% of present energy usage could be cut, with no decline in standard of living, through concentrated conservation programmes. For example, Sweden, West Germany and Switzerland have living standards equal to, or higher than our own but consume only about 60% as much energy per capita as Canada, and none of these European countries have begun to approach their full potential for energy thrift.

Some energy options even foreclose others. As CBC science analyst Dr. David Suzuki has noted: "If there is a massive infusion of money into nuclear technology, it will inhibit or

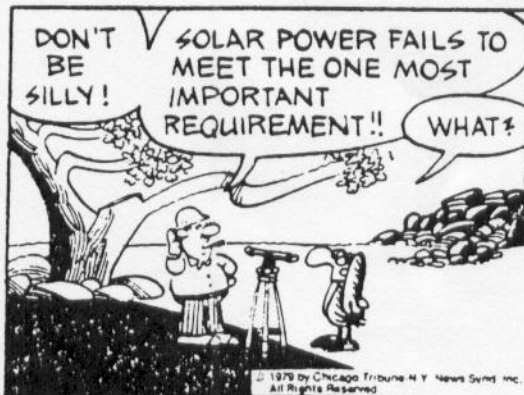
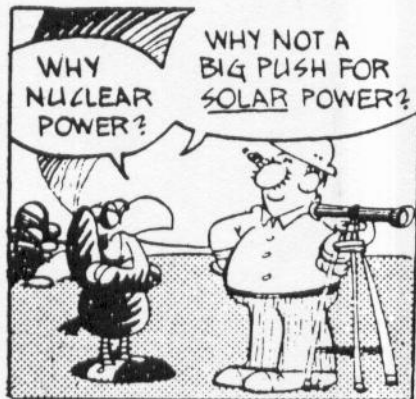


prevent the development of alternative technology." The sheer magnitude of the Canadian nuclear expansion strategy threatens to foreclose proper development of the renewable option, since not enough capital and other resources would be left over to bring renewables on stream at a significant rate during the critical transition period.

*I think we're going to stop nuclear power because it has to be stopped. . . . If we're wrong, we can do something else. If they're wrong, we're dead!*

— David Brower  
Friends of the Earth

Presented for your consideration  
by the Ontario Left Caucus





(Found in 1983)  
draft resolution from kent commission subcommittee of rosedale NDP

WHEREAS twice in the past 15 years the state of ownership and control of daily newspapers in Canada has been of sufficient public concern senate committee or to warrant study by royal commission;

AND WHEREAS virtually no action has been taken on the recommendations of either the Davey committee or the Kent commission;

AND WHEREAS continued inaction has only contributed to even greater concentration of ownership -- some of it even during the hearings of the latest commission -- with no end in sight;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the NDP oppose any further concentration of press ownership, including cross-ownership with conglomerates and expansion of the control of newspaper chains;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that provincial NDP caucuses be urged to press for the appropriate legislation to force financial disclosure by newspapers;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that no newspaper be permitted to close, ~~sell out or~~ merge without six months advance notice; and that such closures, ~~sales~~ and mergers not be permitted without full financial disclosure; and that if an offer is made for the purchase of such a paper, all things being equal, an offer from the paper's staff shall have preference over any other offers to purchase;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that national and regional press councils as envisaged in the Kent Commission report include among their representation from the general public at least one appointee of organized labour in each instance;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that editors' <sup>2</sup>advisory committees as envisaged in the Kent Commission report ~~be~~ required for all daily newspapers, including those defined in the report as "individual" newspapers, and that these committees also include a representative of organized labour;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that tax incentives be provided to newspaper publishers to encourage investment by them in journalism training.

— adopt + circulate

## RESOLUTIONS FOR PROVINCIAL CONVENTION FROM OTTAWA LEFT CAUCUS

### DAY CARE

Whereas all Canadians have a right to work if they so wish, and the absence of quality daycare is a barrier to the entry of many Canadians to the labour force,

Whereas high day care fees particularly discriminate against working class families, single parents and women,

Whereas high quality, safe, healthy day care can serve to develop the social, intellectual and physical skills of children,

Therefore be it resolved that an ONDP government would immediately abolish all fees for day care and expand the number of parent controlled daycare centres,

And that the provision of free, safe and quality day care be a conspicuous element in the ONDP's program for government presented to Ontario voters.

### REDUCED WORK WEEK AT NO LOSS IN PAY

Whereas unemployment is the most immediate concern of the labour movement;  
Whereas the reduced work week at no loss in pay remains a central job-creation demand of the labour movement;

Whereas the labour movement has historically been able to reduce the work week while simultaneously raising real wages;

Whereas the country's largest union, the Canadian Union of Public Employees is campaigning for a 30 hour work week at no loss in pay;

Whereas the employers are presenting as their alternative "work-sharing" or the reduced work week with a significant loss in pay;

Therefore be it resolved that the ONSP pledges its full support to CUPE and other unions struggling for the reduced work week at no loss in pay;

That it unequivocally condemns "work-sharing" and other employer and government alternative schemes designed to make workers pay out of their own pockets for shorter hours and job security

That an ONDP government would immediately legislate a 35 hour work week at no loss in pay and establish, during its first term of office, the 30 hour work week at no loss in pay;

And that the reduced work week at no loss in pay be a conspicuous element in the ONDP's program for government presented to Ontario voters.

### FREE POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

Whereas education fees discriminate against working-class Canadian families;

Whereas a number of Third World countries provide free post-secondary education for its citizens - the latest example being Nicaragua;

Whereas Ontario has a much larger per capita income than all of these countries;

## FREE POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION (cont.)

Whereas the example of free post-secondary education in Ontario would greatly improve the party's appeal to young people across the country;

Therefore be it resolved that an ONDP government would immediately abolish all fees for post-secondary education;

And that free post-secondary education be a conspicuous element in the ONDP's program for government presented to Ontario voters.

## CHOICE(passed by the ONDP Women's Committee)

Whereas the NDP has long recognized it is a fundamental right of women to choose when and if to bear children, and that this entails supporting the right of women to have full access to abortion;

Whereas Federal policy calls for:

- a) decriminalizing abortion and dropping prosecutions;
- b) providing special clinics for abortion procedures;
- c) supporting coalitions campaigning for establishment of freestanding clinics where counselling and abortion would be provided under provincial medical plans;

Whereas this policy has also been supported by the Ontario Federation of Labour;

Therefore be it resolved that we endorse the policy of the Federal party and the OFL on this issue by actively supporting the efforts of OCAC, which is campaigning to establish freestanding clinics providing medically insured abortions;

Be it further resolved that the ONDP and caucus call on Attorney-General Roy McMurtry to drop all charges now pending against Drs. Morgentaler, Smoling and Scott;

Be it further resolved that the ONDP co-sponsor a public rally and fundraising events in defense of Drs. Morgentaler, Smoling and Scott and encourage all ONDP riding associations throughout the province to do the same;

Be it further resolved that we will support anyone prosecuted in this attempt to establish a freestanding clinic or in any subsequent campaigns;

Be it further resolved that the ONDP caucus be obliged to make party policy on this issue known inside and outside the Legislative.



(Found in 1983 - notations by R.D.)

## A Socialist Alternative

to what that went before

tabled

We are fighting to establish a socialist alternative within the New Democratic Party, from a class struggle point of view. Our goal is a workers government that will inaugurate a democratically planned economy under workers control. In all struggles between workers and bosses in capitalist society, we stand on the side of the working class and its allies.

This is the general perspective for which the Left Caucus must fight--subordinate to no one. Socialists in the party have an indispensable contribution to make as an independent force, openly and aggressively.

An essential part of our struggle is to democratize the NDP from top to bottom. We demand more meaningful political education and discussion within the party, along with strict leadership accountability to democratic party decisions. We believe top party officials should be paid <sup>more</sup> in accordance with the earnings of ordinary working people, and that funds should be devoted more to local riding activities than central electoral campaigns. We see the need for the party and labour movement to initiate a mass weekly press as an alternative to the lying capitalist media.

Our main focus is on extra-parliamentary action because we recognize that society will not be transformed by legislative action alone. Parliament is a useful platform for education, but this arena is subordinate in priority to direct involvement in local, community, union, feminist, and other popular struggles. The Left Caucus must become rooted in the living struggles of working people if it is to grow and influence the NDP in this direction, much less fight effectively for a socialist future.

Concretely, we propose the Left Caucus undertake the following priorities and measures:

1. To build an active and open Left Caucus we need:
  - regular public forums aimed at NDP members;
  - permanent structures that function in a serious way <sup>representative</sup> between conventions, including an elected steering committee responsible for the production of a regular bulletin for news and discussion.
  - regular Left Caucus meetings at provincial council to organize our participation around chosen priorities and policies.
  - an orientation towards running Left Caucus candidates for internal party office on a socialist platform, clearly identified.
2. That we begin to prepare now for the next provincial convention of the NDP by:
  - re-opening the discussion on the L.C. Manifesto in order to improve the document.
  - set about to influence delegate elections in the ridings and affiliated organizations by presenting ideas and candidates.
  - developing a number of policy resolutions on key issues.

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transitional operation

- Xplicitly revolutionary soc caucus  
where they are taken forward -

3. That we strive to build a Left Caucus open to all socialists in the NDP by:
- stimulating serious, non-factional political discussions on the major concerns of our time.
  - respecting and representing fairly the diverse points of view within the caucus.
  - working to build a cross-country NDP socialist left by strengthening our links with like-minded people across Canada.

In solidarity,

submitted by:

Dale Ritch

Robert Adam

Bruno Marchese

Barry Weisleder

Chris Harries

Bob Sherwood

Jaimie Maronge

Robert McCarthy

(annotated by R.D.)

Ontario New Democratic Party -- Left Caucus

September 12, 1983.

Dear friends,

As summer fades into fall, NDP Left Caucus members are gearing up for a new round of political activity.

Disappointing as the July federal party convention was, the expectation that we will get a good hearing for our left-socialist alternative to the present crisis is growing. The question is: how?

The Left Caucus, like the party, appears to be at a turning point. Serious political differences over how to fight for socialist ideas, and how to build the NDP left, emerged at the federal convention. J P

The Ontario Left Caucus Steering Committee met recently and adopted a series of initiatives to aid you in coming to grips with the current situation.

The first is a forum, on Friday, September 30, 7:30 pm in Toronto, sponsored by the Toronto Left Caucus, on the topic: NDP in Crisis--What Should the Left Caucus Do? (see accompanying leaflet) P  
reverse  
?

In addition, we are now preparing for an Ontario Left Caucus Conference, November 5, to decide on our political perspectives. Another forum, on a popular topic of current interest, will be held on the evening of November 4.

The actual conference agenda will consist of two parts: the first, a review of issues and campaigns in which local NDP riding associations are involved (e.g. women's rights, anti-war, municipal, etc.); the second portion, a discussion of Left Caucus perspectives and priorities. A new steering committee will be elected too.

In order to prepare the conference discussion on perspectives, we are opening up a written discussion. You are invited to submit your ideas, criticisms and proposals (as brief and legible as possible) for publication and circulation through a future Left Caucus Newsletter.

The coming year offers many challenges and opportunities to have a greater political impact. Get involved and help your caucus rise to the challenge.

In Solidarity,

Barry Weisleder  
for the  
Ontario Steering Committee



You are invited to

## A Forum

Organized by the Toronto NDP Left Caucus

# How to build the left in the NDP

### Speakers:

- Chris Harries
- Wayne Roberts
- Dave Tomczak
- A representative of the ONDP Women's Committee

Friday, September 30 7:30 p.m.

West Park Secondary School (corner  
of Bloor St. W. & Dundas St. W. — Dundas W. subway station)

## DON'T FORGET!

The upcoming  
ONDP Left Caucus  
Conference in  
Toronto, Nov. 4,5.

Submissions to  
the preceding  
written  
discussion  
should be sent  
no later than  
Oct. 7 to

ONDP  
Left Caucus,  
375 Montrose  
Ave., Toronto,  
Ont. M6G 3H2.

NOTHING WITHOUT LABOUR

(Found in 1983)

## A New Course for the Ontario NDP Left Caucus

Though it's been said before, the Left Caucus is now truly at a crossroad. Sharply divided over tactics and strategy, with internal dissatisfaction at a peak, the caucus can be restored to proper functioning only through democratic discussion and membership participation in an authoritative province-wide conference.

In our view, the November 4-5 conference is faced squarely with the need to adopt a new course for the NDP left. This paper sets out some proposals to that end.

Firstly, we must build on the strengths of the Left Caucus. It is a broad movement of rank and file New Democrats across the province--a living link with important community, workplace and popular campaign activities. Its years of continuity and persistence have won the caucus wide recognition across the party. It has successfully resisted attempts by some of its former prominent members to dissolve it, or red-bait it out of existence. And the caucus has been strongest when it has fought openly and independently for its anti-capitalist views.

Recently, however, its independence and fighting spirit have been undermined. Its radical resolutions and manifestoes have become window-dressing for convention floor concessions to the party centre and right. Instead of fighting for socialist policies, and building a clearly socialist opposition, non-elected 'representatives' of the caucus have promoted liberal compromise policies in the hope of 'attracting more votes'. They've opposed left caucus candidates or slates for party positions so as to be better able to strike a deal with the party establishment to include token leftists on official slates.

In contrast to the promising beginnings of the Left Caucus in 1978 we have only to look at its performance at two recent NDP conventions. At the March 1982 Ontario convention the Left Caucus practically dissolved into the Richard Johnston leadership campaign. The caucus had no policy priorities, no floor presence, no candidates for secondary office, and its meetings dwindled to a nullity.

Worse still, at the July 1983 federal convention in Regina, some Ontario Left Caucus leaders ensured that the caucus' adopted manifesto was jettisoned in favour of a Utopian endeavour to amend the federal leadership's hopelessly pro-capitalist document. And in the process, caucus positions on women's right to choose abortion and on Quebec's right to self determination were nearly sacrificed.

Needless to say, no progress was made towards establishing the Left Caucus as a cross-country party formation.

The old leadership of the Left Caucus, now a minority on the Ontario Steering Committee, believes that the left can be built only by orienting itself to the party 'centre', even if that means 'subordination of the left to the centre'.

We flatly reject this approach for at least two reasons.

1. This is not a new tactic, but it is a failed one. For the past two or more years, employing this tactic, we have not moved centre forces to the left--we have moved the left to the right, and driven away countless socialist and feminist activists in the process.
2. Whatever the 'centre forces' may be, they are not currently fighting the party brass over any significant issues. When this does occur, we should heartily join the fight (e.g. on the need for more democratic procedures within the party, leadership accountability, etc.), but we should fight alongside our future allies as an independent force with our own programme.

Contrary to what some may think, we don't need celebrity parliamentarians or learned academics in order to build a viable, and programmatically sound socialist movement.

But we do need a new outlook and a genuinely socialist programme. In this regard, the manifesto adopted by the Left Caucus last spring, although vastly superior to the pabulum cooked up at Regina, is quite inadequate.

The manifesto we adopted, despite its call for social ownership of "decisive sectors", is too much made in the image of the right wing leadership of the party. It is written in the technocratic language of 'socialism from above'--socialism by legislation. It shies away from labour struggles, anti-war and feminist campaigns, and all things extra-parliamentary. It scarcely mentions 'class', much less poses the need for working people to wage a struggle for power to re-make the state and economy to suit the neglected needs of the vast majority.

The socialist left in the NDP requires a programme that poses as an alternative to capitalist irrationality the need for a planned economy--with the emphasis placed on workers' control and the expropriation of the capitalist expropriators.



Likewise, it is high time the party left undertook an in-depth and thoughtful re-evaluation of <sup>the</sup> Canadian nationalism that pervades our manifestoes. After all, it was many years ago that the Waffle movement died--or rather was absorbed into the party leadership and <sup>its</sup> industrial strategy.

But more than a new manifesto or theoretical document is required. A whole new approach is needed.

We need a new kind of left caucus, just like we want the NDP to become a new kind of party.

We need an activist force. One that initiates educational and political activities. One that establishes connections and roots in popular struggles. One that is not afraid to speak out against the misdeeds of the party brass--inside and outside of the party. Not confrontation for the sake of it; but confrontation when it's deserved!

We need a left caucus that reaches out to struggles against discrimination and harassment--and gets involved. Such a body would not have its agenda determined by the routine of party council meetings and conventions, but by the events of the class struggle. And the political analysis and point of view it would bring to all its work would not be 'big guy' versus 'little guy', 'consumers' versus 'producers', 'east' versus 'west', but rather class against class.

The Left Caucus must be transformed into a class struggle tendency within the NDP. The latter would present a working class alternative to the social, economic and cultural policies of the right wing social democratic party leadership. It would contest nominations and internal elections on the basis of its platform. | - 76  
It would champion important causes, like the fight for a party or labour weekly press. It would campaign publicly for Quebec's right to self-determination and for women's right to choose abortion.

The kind of caucus we need would work to build a cross-country class struggle tendency throughout the NDP, with links to the affiliated unions.

The November 4-5 conference should vote to take this course. A new leadership should be elected, with a big majority prepared to carry out conference decisions in this new direction. The leadership should be accountable and subject to immediate recall by the membership. It should be responsible for production of a

regular bulletin of information, to be supplemented by topical pamphlets and literature. With the permission of the Ottawa-based journal Agenda, or by initiating a similar type of magazine, we should foster written discussions on political events and points of theory and programme.

By our commitment to internal democratic functioning we must end once and for all misrepresentation and unprincipled horse-trading done on our 'behalf' by self-appointed 'spokespeople'.

And to emphasize most clearly our break with the method and practice of the Left Caucus of recent times, the November conference should consider changing the name of the caucus.

*why - if it  
has "wide recognition  
among the  
party"*

This paper is not intended as a blueprint for a new kind of formation in the party. But it is a contribution to the discussion that we hope to see debated and further elaborated.

Once correctly on course, socialists in the NDP can again concentrate their fire on the utter failure of the capitalist system to meet human needs, and the failure of the NDP leadership to provide a socialist alternative to it. That is our over-riding objective.

In solidarity,

Barry Weisleder,  
Ontario Left Caucus Steering Committee (O.L.C.S.T.),  
member, Dovercourt NDP

Chris Harries,  
O.L.C.S.T.,  
Simcoe Center NDP Provincial Council alternate

Bob Sherwood,  
Don Mills NDP

Anne McMaster,  
member, Parkdale NDP and O.L.C.S.T.,  
ONDP Women's Committee

Anne Brunelle,  
O.L.C.S.T.,  
member, St.A & StP NDP and ONDP Women's Committee

Robert Adam,  
president, Armourdale NDP,  
MTAC Youth Chair

Bruno Marchese,  
Dovercourt NDP executive

Connie Merton,  
Oriole NDP MTAC delegate

Robert McMaster,  
O.L.C.S.T.,  
member, Parkdale NDP

Bob McCarthy,  
member, Parkdale NDP executive

(organizations listed for identification purposes only)

A Contribution from Chris Harries via Teeswater, Ontario.

The first thing we must do is to put aside personalities - as interesting as each one of us undoubtedly is, the question before us is one involving the damage being wrought by mass unemployment upon the personalities of millions of our fellows.

In the past there have been vigorous disputes within this movement as to the merits of pursuing a Parliamentary strategy in conditions of increasing affluence and full employment. Events have made this debate irrelevant, within the past few years not only has the boom collapsed into a deep and worsening depression but so also has the ruling class's liberal policy of adjusting to the reforms imposed upon it by Trade Unions, human rights organizations and other popular movements.

In the face of attacks upon the living standards and organizations of working people, upon Medicare and social service budgets, legal aid, education, pensions and, most dramatically of all, upon wages and jobs, to displace our political duties to a few legislators and to restrict our campaigning to election periods is a nonsense which serves only to confirm the cynics view that all Socialists really desire is office.

Our duty, on the left, is to draw our movement back to its historic purpose of organising and orchestrating opposition to the suicidal reflexes of a world system in terrible crisis. To do this we must counterpose, both in theory and practice, socialism to the options held out by capitalism.

- \* To the arms race we must offer the clear alternative of a society whose working masses have disarmed an irresponsible and irrational ruling class mesmerised by profit.
- \* To unemployment and three billions of starving people, we constast the planned satisfaction of basic needs and an harmonious relationship between humanity and the environment.
- \* To racism, sexism, snobbery and elitism we reply by urging the equality and fraternity of all humanity, and practising the most thoroughgoing and selfless democracy.

on one side  
makes reform  
demands more  
attractive, necessary  
link them up  
transitional



(Favhd in 1983) *WJR*

THE ROCKY HORROR PICTURE SHOW AND LEFT CAUCUS

BY: Wayne Roberts

I'm going to try and avoid rhetoric here and get down to brass tacks. Here's the situation as I see it.

1. The NDP is in big trouble. By-elections show it. The polls show it. Internal party morale shows it. Our inability to get out a strong message to the public shows it.
2. The Left Caucus could make a big contribution to the party. We have ideas about policy and about the party as a movement that deserve serious discussion.
3. The Left Caucus is not in a strong position to make its influence felt. There are lots of reasons for that. Some are all of our own faults. Some are the fault of a grouping that gives new meaning to the term "lunatic fringe."

Let's talk about our faults and shortcomings, the ones that we have the power to correct.

1. We still organize in a slipshod, amateurish way. Our eyes are bigger than our stomachs, and we take on projects that we can't finish well. Witness Left Caucus conferences. Witness Agenda. You name it.
2. We have weak connections with women's and union groups and with groupings whose top priority is internal democracy. It's so easy to prove that, I won't even bother.

We can do something about it. We can yell into the wind, or we can set some concrete objectives. I want to save my voice for when it's needed, so I favor some concrete tasks, free of fantasy and political posturing.

First, we have to become a caucus. A caucus is a place where likeminded people work together to increase their effectiveness. Some people think a caucus is a snakepit, or a form of daycare for big people, where they can shoot off their mouths about their latest delusion. I'm not in favor of excluding these people, either on political -- or more appropriate in this case -- psychiatric grounds. But if I want to go to a village idiots' convention, I'll go there deliberately, not by mistake when I go to a Left Caucus meeting.

Our first order of business is to elect a steering committee on a clear political bases and to settle some key questions that will give legitimacy to elected leaders, and deny it to soothsayers. The Left Caucus is open to all members of the NDP. But this does not mean we are open to every group of fixated ideologues who want to write a document, declare themselves a tendency with rights to equal time, and then dump all over us. We need to settle a course and be able to implement it. For specified periods of time, we need to centre our discussions and debates on problems of implementing our strategy. That means we do not have to endure a dogfight over first principles at every meeting.

Our second order of business is to select a number of projects that can strengthen our political impact. Three ideas come to my mind, but I would like to hear comments and suggestions before I push them. I think we need a "brains trust" committee that can co-ordinate a series of papers explaining the need for socialist policies in key areas. Such a project could draw in new people and provide real substance to our positions. I think we need to work much more closely with the New Directions people fighting for democratization of the slate process. Our attitude towards them should be that we are still earning our political spurs, and they do not have to wear hair shirts or atone for their political errors. We especially need to collaborate with the Women's Committee. Our neglect in the past was due to our exclusive concentration on the public ownership question, and we need to redeem ourselves in this area. We should also discuss opening negotiations with the Agenda people and see if there's a way we can help out.

These are some suggestions to open the discussion. We need to thrash out a lot of other proposals, and we also have to consider the possibility of a serious left campaign for the federal leadership.

But first we have to separate the socialists from the crackpots. I know that isn't a job that most New Democrats like to take on for Saturday afternoon relaxation. But I think Left Caucus supporters have been too smug and aloof from Left Caucus problems, willing to take the benefits but unwilling to spend the energy to keep it healthy. If ordinary people stay away, non-ordinary people take on undue importance and we get ourselves into extraordinary problems. That's why all Left Caucus supporters who value the role of the Caucus should come to the conference, listen to the debate, and help us settle on a course that will make the Left Caucus a positive experience contributing to a positive goal.

We cannot win the NDP to socialism without a strong Left Caucus. We cannot win New Democrats to the Left Caucus unless we are open, effective, dynamic and comfortable dealing with people who are not yet convinced of socialism. Our job is to convince them, not denounce them. That is my essential difference with the opposition within Left Caucus.

# The N.D.P. - A Force for Social + Political Change

- defeat in Saskatchewan + British Columbia
- a federal setback looming?
- What should the party be doing?

## A FORUM:

Jack Layton - Alderman, City of Toronto

Mary Rowles - Chairperson, O.N.D.P.  
Women's Committee

David Tomczak - President, Metro N.D.P.

A trade unionist - to be announced.

West Park Secondary School  
(S.E. corner of Dundas St. W. + Bloor St. W - Toronto)

Friday November 4th

8:00 P.M.



(annotated by R.D.)

RW ultimatum on exclusion of ultra left

no  
liberation  
(do a settlement  
with ultra left)

O.N.D.P.

LEFT CAUCUS

CONFERENCE

— didn't listen  
grossly overstated it

all tenderness to be represented?

DATE:

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 5TH

TIME:

9:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.

PLACE:

WEST PARK SECONDARY SCHOOL  
THE CAFETERIA  
(S.E. corner of Dundas St. W. &  
Bloor St. W., Toronto -  
Dundas West Subway Station)

false questions

Does — can we even ultra

AGENDA:

Want  
sums on the

A.M.

Working on Issues as New Democrats:

- In our ridings.
- Within the party as a whole.

Workshops on:

Disarmament

Abortion

Workers' Rights

\*\*Plenary Workshop:

The Health & Safety Fight  
at Westinghouse

- Workshop lead by STAN GRAY

LUNCH

P.M.

PLENARY DISCUSSION:

BUILDING THE LEFT IN THE NDP

(see enclosed written statements  
in this mailing)

3:30 ORDER OF THE DAY:

ELECTION OF A STEERING COMMITTEE

ADOPTION OF RESOLUTIONS FOR LEFT  
CAUCUS ACTION

Gen Caucus

open caucus  
election steering committee  
change in parliamentary  
report back

Special mission -  
must be a  
firmly  
to vote on Oct

Motion - steering committee  
9 persons  
represent the

Regina - no request  
Fed Convention

personality attack  
hyperbole for left right

November 7, 1983.

Dear friends:

What follows is a report on a one-day conference of the Ontario Left Caucus in Toronto on November 5. The conference, attended by some 75 people, was held to discuss the caucus' future plans and to elect a steering committee to implement them. It also devoted time to a discussion of the role NDP'ers and Left Caucus supporters have been playing and can play in the peace, women's, and labour struggles which have been occurring recently. It also heard a very interesting presentation of the health and safety struggle at Westinghouse by Stan Gray.

The caucus, as many of you know, has been characterized in the past by a sense of aimlessness growing out of a lack of sustained activity between conventions. Criticisms have also been made that leadership in the caucus has been exercised by self-appointed "spokespersons" largely unaccountable to its supporters. Whatever the merit of the criticism, the conference in my opinion took several very important steps to overcome any tendencies in that direction and to make the caucus a more attractive arena for NDP'ers who wish to come together to clarify their views and to organize to present them to the party.

Among the decisions taken were the following:

1. To hold public forums aimed at NDP'ers.
  2. To elect permanent structures that function in a serious way between conventions, including an elected representative steering committee responsible for the production of a regular bulletin for news and discussion.
  3. To hold regular Left Caucus meetings at provincial council to organize our participation around chosen priorities and policies.
  4. To consider running Left Caucus candidates for internal party office on a socialist platform, clearly identified.
  5. To influence delegate elections to party conventions by presenting ideas and candidates.
  6. To develop a number of policy resolutions on key issues.
  7. To stimulate serious, non-factional political discussion on the major concerns of our time.
  8. To respect and represent ~~fairly~~ the diverse points of view within the caucus.
  9. To work to build a cross-country socialist left.
- within the NDP.

It was left to the newly elected steering committee to set priorities and work out details of the above, within the limit of our resources.

The conference decided to establish a steering committee composed of 14 people, 11 to be elected directly at the conference on a parity basis between men and women, and one each to be elected later by Left Caucus groups ~~xxx~~ in Ottawa, Sudbury, and Hamilton.

Nineteen people were nominated for the 11 positions filled at large in Toronto, with the following steering committee elected:

Lois Bedard  
Anne Dowson  
George Ehring  
Marv Gandall  
Laura Pascoe  
Wayne Roberts  
Christopher Ross  
Mary Rowles  
Susan Shaw  
Dave Tomzak  
Kimberley Wilde

Some of the people above are widely known and respected in the party. Mary Rowles, for example, is chair of the ONDP Women's Committee and Dave Tomzak is chair of the Area Council in Toronto.

We are obliged to elect an Ottawa representative to the steering committee which may meet as frequently as once a month in Toronto. That will be one of the items of business at the meeting this Tuesday night.

A number of Ottawa LC supporters have also been discussing the need to form an Ottawa steering committee of perhaps 5-6 people and a proposal to that effect will be considered.

Finally, we will want to probably discuss what role LC supporters can play in the Ottawa area -- both in strengthening the NDP's presence in the mass movements and ~~strengthening~~ in providing a congenial and stimulating environment where NDP'ers of whatever political stripe can come together to discuss party issues, something which is seriously lacking at present in the party and which was one of the main reasons why the Left Caucus was formed in the late 70's.

*Marv G.*

Marv Gandall  
for the organizers of the meeting



MINUTES OF ONDP LEFT CAUCUS STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING-DEC. 9 1983

Present: Fred Gloger, Dave Tomczak, Mary Rowles, Lois Bedard, Chris Ross, George Ehring, Simon Rosenblum, Peter Hutton, Kimberley Wilde Susan Shaw. Apologies: Laura Pascoe, Wayne Roberts, Marv Gandall, Anne Dowson

1. Dave Tomczak and Mary Rowles were elected co-chairs. Fred Gloger was elected secretary

2. Provincial Council items dealt with by the meeting: A) Expulsions, B) Abortion resolution from Dovercourt, C) Program for Government, D) Slate Committee proposal.

2A) Expulsions : It was decided that we would oppose the expulsions as individuals rather than explicitly as a caucus. Mary will be moving a motion to delay the expulsions until March. The RWL had been declared a political party by the Provincial Exec; but they did not define 'party', 'member' or 'supporter'. This, it was felt, left the door open to witch hunts. We will ask that a definition be given before any action is taken. (Our motion at Council failed, therefore Tom Baker was expelled from the party and the RWL has been declared a political party for the purpose of the ONDP Constitution).

2B ) Abortion : This motion to Council from Dovercourt asks that the caucus declare our support for the Morgentaler clinics in an unequivocal way. Mary explained that the motion was likely to cause a great deal of controversy . There is a danger of caucus members publicly defying the party. The Women's Committee will therefore be supporting a referral of the motion to a joint policy review committee/caucus committee struck earlier to deal with the subject. Richard Johnston will be moving the motion. There was consensus that we should support the referral but that we should speak strongly in favour of the motion first. (The referral passed)

2

2C ) Program for Government : This is a document that will become the main party platform in the next provincial election. Simon was on the committee that drafted it but does not support it in its present form. The general feeling was that its major flaws are a very poor section on the economy which does not directly address the

question of corporate power and a weak opening statement which was felt to be very trite. Despite a strong section on medicare, the Program for Government says little on the subject of fundamental social change. It was felt that two members of the drafting committee: Francis Lankin and Richard Johnston might sympathize with us on these points .

It was agreed that this document should become a major focus of Left Caucus activity for the next few months leading up to the convention. We will not produce an alternate document but will draw up a critique. George, Wayne, Mary and Dave will work on this.

2D ) Slate Committee Proposal : This will come before council for a first reading. It is very poor. It effectively entrenches the existing system of nominating provincial executive which has allowed a few people to basically choose the executive. We will attack the proposal heavily at council and push our support for a regionally based system of choosing the exec. as put forward by New Directions.

3. Public Forums : It was felt that the format we have been using; i.e. a forum on the friday night preceding a provincial Left Caucus conference, had outlived its usefulness. Low attendance was cited as the main reason. It was decided that we would hold a forum at the next provincial council meeting (March '84) on one of the issues coming up at that meeting. Laura, Kimberly and Fred are to look into this. There was some discussion about having two of three small forums in Toronto before March. It was decided to refer this matter to the Toronto Steering Committee.

4. Agenda : Should we attempt to continue the magazine in its present form ? There is little energy left in Ottawa for this task. There was a certain amount of disagreement about the viability of the Left Caucus running it. Some thought a broadsheet might be a better idea. Peter, Simon, Fred and Marv will look into the matter.

5. Conference : It is doubtful that we should or could hold one soon. George expressed concern that we hold one at some point to discuss Convention resolutions. Should we initiate resolutions or simply act to support the resolutions we like that come from ridings and affiliated organizations ? The question will be discussed at the next Steering Committee meeting.

6. Ottawa Left Caucus : Fred reported. The group has met twice in the last month and there is quite a bit of activity. A forum is planned to explain the Left Caucus to party members and prospective members. Several new people have become involved in the Left Caucus already.
7. Other Motions : The following motions from the conference will be dealt with at the next Steering Committee meeting:-  
That the Left Caucus make a presentation to the Federal EPC, That the caucus make a concerted effort to improve finances and communication and that the Steering Committee be elected annually at a conference.
8. Next Meeting : Saturday January 21 at 3 pm at Queens' Park.



## Petition Against ONDP Expulsions

The leadership of Labour's political arm--the New Democratic Party--has begun a 'witch hunt' against socialist trade unionists.

Tom Baker, an industrial union member, is the latest victim. He stands accused of being a member and supporter of the Revolutionary Workers League (R.W.L.). This is a group of workers which supports and builds the NDP and the union movement. It fights for NDP governments at all levels (for an NDP-Quebec Labour alliance in Ottawa). It builds the campaigns and has held activities in support of womens rights, Grenada, Nicaragua, and El Salvador, among others. The R.W.L. does not compete with the NDP as a political party. Yet, now it is being proscribed (banned) by the Ontario NDP Provincial Executive. This has already resulted in three expulsions from the Party.

These attacks weaken the NDP and Labour movement.

In this year, alone, we have seen some of the worst attacks ever on our unions, on working people from Quebec to British Columbia to Grenada and Central America. We need a workers' government in Ottawa--a kind of government we have never had. But how do we get there?

From the municipal to the federal level, the Party needs to have a full and honest discussion about where we have come to and which way forward. The R.W.L. members have a contribution to make to that discussion. Democratic debate and criticism are hallmarks of the Labour movement, traditions we defend in our Party. Such an approach will attract greater numbers of union members to the Party's ranks. Bob Rae has reminded us of the unbreakable unity between Labour and the NDP, calling for more active support from the union ranks.

Attempting to silence views (with which some may disagree) of individuals or organized groupings by expulsions only serves to stifle discussion and divide our efforts to defeat the attacks by Liberal, Socred, and Tory governments.

When all the organizations of working people are under attack, that is the time for real unity, not internal witch hunts. Operation Solidarity and the Solidarity Coalition in B.C. are the best examples, recently, of what we really need. Our NDP policy should be to unite all who are fighting for justice, jobs, their rights, their organizations, or their dignity--under the banner of the New Democratic Party. These internal attacks on organized political currents or caucuses will only weaken the ability of the NDP and Labour to fight and lead the battle of working people against the Reagans, the Bennetts, and the Davis's of the world.

These expulsion moves must be opposed. We cannot allow an undemocratic and divisive 'witch hunt' in our ranks.

We, the undersigned members of the ONDP and/or affiliated unions, while not necessarily in agreement with the views of Tom Baker or the Revolutionary Workers League, protest the proscription and expulsion proceedings of the ONDP Provincial Executive.

We call on the Party to rescind the motions and reinstate Tom Baker as a full member of the NDP.

NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE	RIDING/UNION
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.....			
.....			
.....			
.....			
.....			
.....			

For more information contact: Tom Baker or Richard DeGaetano, 536-8400, 766-2730  
labor donated

1051 McNiven Ave.  
Regina, Sask.  
Jan. 28, 1984

Ross Dowson  
Toronto

*Handwritten:* OK C. operations  
furnish copy file  
↑

Dear Ross,

In response to your note of Jan. 23, here is a bit of material you might be interested in.

1. "A Regina Manifesto Amendment for the Saskatchewan NDP." Dorothy and I put this together as a response to a draft "Statement of Principles" for the Saskatchewan NDP that was published in the Commonwealth early last fall. We had hoped it could serve as a basis for beginning to organize a left wing. It was circulated prior to the NDP convention and at the convention itself by the Left Caucus, but was not formally adopted by the Left Caucus.

There was a workshop on the Statement of Principles at the convention; subsequent to the convention, it appears that the question of adopting a statement is being shelved. For obvious reasons, the brass wants to avoid this kind of debate; my impression is that they started into the process without thinking through its implications.

2. "Our party is at a crossroads," the leaflet distributed at the NDP convention by the Left Caucus. The Left Caucus held only one meeting at the convention, attended by about 25 persons. No one of prominence in the party identified with it.

The ranks of the party at this point appear willing enough to consider socialist ideas, but at least for the time being there seems to be no dynamic at work which would permit building a broad left caucus. The Left Caucus has not met since the convention; I do not see any prospect for building it in the immediate period.

The most significant fight at the convention, as you can see from the Commonwealth, was on the uranium question. That fight was organized by an environmental caucus, in which the chief figure was Peter Prebble.

3. "For an NDP government committed to prolabor policies," a leaflet circulated by Larry Hay and me at the SFL convention. It does not represent the viewpoint of significant forces or the Left Caucus.

4. An unpublished article I wrote on the SFL convention. You'll notice that the Briarpatch article misrepresents McCorquodale's position. For background on the SFL left, your Briarpatch backfile should be useful.

5. A leaflet circulated at the NDP convention by opponents of uranium mining.

# A Regina Manifesto Amendment for the Saskatchewan NDP

The New Democratic Party currently faces a crisis in its perspectives. It seems to have forgotten its historical roots and the vision that inspired the workers and farmers who founded our movement fifty years ago. The Regina Manifesto Amendment is meant to revive the socialist vision of the original Regina Manifesto, while placing it in the context of the 1980s.

The following document takes its name and is drawn in part from the Regina Manifesto Amendment presented by the Left Caucus to the 1983 federal NDP convention. It is being circulated as a contribution to the discussion on the proposed Statement of Principles for the Saskatchewan party. Constituency associations are urged to study it, amend it where they feel amendments would be useful, and submit it for adoption by the party as a whole.

## A REGINA MANIFESTO AMENDMENT FOR THE SASKATCHEWAN NDP

Fifty years ago, the founders of our movement gathered in Regina and proclaimed their dedication to a Cooperative Commonwealth:

We aim to replace the present capitalist system, with its inherent injustices and inhumanity, by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated, in which economic planning will supersede unregulated private enterprise and competition, and in which genuine democratic self-government, based on economic equality, will be possible."

Today, as in 1933, the world is in the grips of a deep social, economic, and political crisis. And as in the 1930s, the burden of the crisis of the profit system is being unloaded on the backs of the workers and farmers.

Mass unemployment is with us again. Labour rights and the whole range of health and social-service gains won through past struggles are being rolled back. The historic Crow rate is under ruthless attack. Our environment is being recklessly despoiled and humanity itself is threatened with destruction by nuclear war. Never have we stood in greater need of fundamental social change.

Our party was born out of the struggles of workers and farmers against the ruling rich and the profit system from which big business alone benefits. The mounting attacks on the rights and living standards of working people today must be met by renewing our dedication to fight back.

Our commitment is to building a mass movement of the workers and farmers against corporate rule. Our aim is to establish governments of the workers and farmers in Regina and Ottawa.

In the words of the Regina Manifesto, no NDP government "will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full program of socialized planning which will lead to the establishment in Canada of the Cooperative Commonwealth."

## PLANNING AND SOCIAL OWNERSHIP

From the time of our party's foundation, we have been committed to economic and social planning in the interests of working people. But as the Regina Manifesto declared:

Planning by itself will be of little use if the public authority has not the power to carry its plans into effect. Such power will require the control of finance and of all those vital industries and services which, if they remain in private hands, can be used to thwart or corrupt the will of the public authority.

Planning in the interests of the workers and farmers is incompatible with a capitalist "mixed economy." The profit system, based on private ownership of the commanding heights of the economy, defies effective regulation or control.

The stock-in-trade of government intervention -- tinkering with monetary and fis-



cal policy to stimulate investment and spending -- has been proven bankrupt in the current economic crisis. Piecemeal nationalization of industry has left the power of Canada's corporate rulers and their profit system intact. Welfare state policies, though won by hard struggle, have not proved adequate to meeting the needs of working people or corrected the fundamental inequalities of the system.

Today our province and our country are confronted by a political and economic emergency that demands straight-forward solutions. If we are going to stamp out unemployment, expand social-service programs, and guarantee every worker and farmer a decent living, we need a socialist industrial strategy based on public ownership of the decisive sectors of the economy. The flaws of capitalism are too basic, the power of the corporations too great, the chasm separating the compulsions of profit and the needs of the people too wide for anything less to succeed.

Social ownership of decisive sectors of the economy will provide the basis for new economic and social democracy.

The needs of people, not profit, are the driving force of a socialist society. Socialist reconstruction cannot be accomplished by crown corporations that perpetuate management privileges and otherwise function according to the norms of private industry. It will be accomplished by democratizing all levels of society, providing decisive weight for working people in every level of industrial and political decision-making.

Again, we reaffirm the commitment of the 1933 Regina Manifesto: The evils of the profit system can be removed "only in a planned and socialized economy in which our natural resources and the principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled, and operated by the people."

#### AGRICULTURE

Historically, our party has been committed to the security of tenure and incomes of Saskatchewan's family farmers. But despite useful reforms introduced by previous CCF and NDP governments, family farms have continued to be eliminated by the thousands.

Farmers' traditional enemies are agribusiness, the railways, and the banks. On an international scale, big agribusiness controls both the cost of farmers' inputs and the price of farm products, placing farmers in a cost-price squeeze from which there is no escape short of socialism.

On that basis, we stand for nationalization, not subsidization, of agribusiness monopolies like Massey-Ferguson and the CPR. We stand for restoration of the Crow rate and provision of farm inputs at reasonable prices.

We stand for nationalization of the banks and other financial institutions and provision of small farmers with cheap credit. We stand for the orderly marketing of all farm commodities.

Against all those forces that threaten to drive small farmers from the land, we uncompromisingly defend their security of tenure. We commit ourselves to a new, aggressive Saskatchewan land banking program, linked to limitations on farm size, which can begin to reverse the trend toward the accumulation of farmland in the hands of fewer and fewer large farmers.

#### LABOUR

Of all the forces arrayed against big-business rule, organized labour is the most powerful. New Democrats take pride in our links with the trade unions.

Errors committed by our party in the past have profoundly strained our relations with organized labour. In the face of attacks being launched today against workers, we stand absolutely and unflinchingly in defense of labour's rights.

The New Democratic Party stands firmly against legislative strikebreaking; we reject unequivocally any and every attempt to control or restrain workers' wages.

New Democrats recognize that the interests of working people can be advanced

only in relentless struggle against their employers. We stand for full independence of the unions from big business and the state; we oppose without question all tripartite "social contracts" which inevitably place constraints on the trade unions, rendering them ineffective in defending their members.

For the whole next period, the fight for jobs for all will be a key issue before the labour movement. New Democrats recognize that only in a planned economy based on social ownership can full employment be achieved. Today, we urge labour to join with us in fighting for a shorter work week without loss of pay as a key measure in combatting unemployment.

#### WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The women's movement has inspired us to renew and extend our socialist commitment to a society free of sexual discrimination. The oppression of women is a key pillar of big-business rule.

The New Democratic Party stands for the full equality of women. Against governments which threaten cutbacks in the name of "fiscal responsibility," we fight for free, universal, publicly funded, high-quality childcare. We stand for equal pay for work of equal value and effective affirmative action programs which promote the full equality of women in the workplace.

Vital to winning equality for women is defending their right to control their own bodies. We stand for establishing a system of free-standing women's clinics which will provide birth-control counselling and devices free of charge, as well as safe abortion facilities. We fight with all our resources for women's right to abortion as a matter of choice.

#### SELF-DETERMINATION

Our party stands unswervingly in defense of all democratic rights, including the right of self-determination.

New Democrats recognize native people as an important ally in our fight for a socialist Saskatchewan in a socialist Canada. We support the struggles of original peoples for full recognition of their historic rights, including a just and speedy settlement of their land claims and fulfillment of treaty rights. We recognize the right of native people to self-determination.

Our fight for a government of the workers and farmers in Ottawa cannot succeed without building a base of support in Quebec. A firm alliance of the English-Canadian and Quebecois workers and farmers can only be founded on the basis of defense of Quebec's right to self-determination. We support the right of the Quebecois -- free from interference of the corporations, the federal government, and Trudeau's constitution -- to determine their own political, economic, social, and linguistic policy and the destiny of their nation.

#### HEALTH

Today the fundamental principles on which medicare is based are under heavy attack by free enterprise governments and the medical profession. We will ban extra billing outright and expand medicare services, promote preventive health care, and fight for workers' control of job safety conditions. We promote alternatives to fee-for-service medical care. We stand for the establishment of free, universal denticare.

#### ENERGY AND THE ENVIRONMENT

The NDP is committed to long-term energy planning based on nationalization of

major energy resource companies and according to principles of conservation and safe renewable energy development.

We stand for phasing out Saskatchewan's uranium industry, guaranteeing full compensation and re-employment to workers now in the industry. We stand opposed to nuclear power development, while insisting that coal, oil, and gas plants be fitted with proper pollution-control technology to greatly decrease acid rain.

We recognize a special duty to be a steward of nature's resources and to conserve them for future generations.

### INTERNATIONALISM

Today, the world stands poised on the brink of nuclear war. Against Canada's rulers, we fight for a nuclear-free Saskatchewan in a nuclear-free Canada. We oppose all weapons testing on and over Saskatchewan soil. We stand for Canada's withdrawal from the nuclear-armed NATO and NORAD alliances.

New Democrats are internationalists. We stand in solidarity with peoples around the world fighting for socialism and democracy. Today, as Washington threatens, with Canada's complicity, to launch another Vietnam-type war in Central America, we stand with the peoples of El Salvador and Nicaragua in demanding "U.S. Hands Off Central America!"

### MOVEMENT AND PARTY

The NDP is the party of the dispossessed and the oppressed struggling to build a new world. We are both a social movement and a political party.

As a social movement, we involve ourselves in every struggle against the injustices of capitalism. The trade unions, the farmers' organizations, together with all the mass movements for progressive social change are the lifeblood of our party. We seek to become their party in fighting for workers and farmers governments in Regina and Ottawa.

We do not offer a blueprint for the future. We offer an invitation to the workers and farmers of Saskatchewan to join us, as we join them, in our common efforts to eradicate a social system based on exploitation, discrimination, poverty, and war.

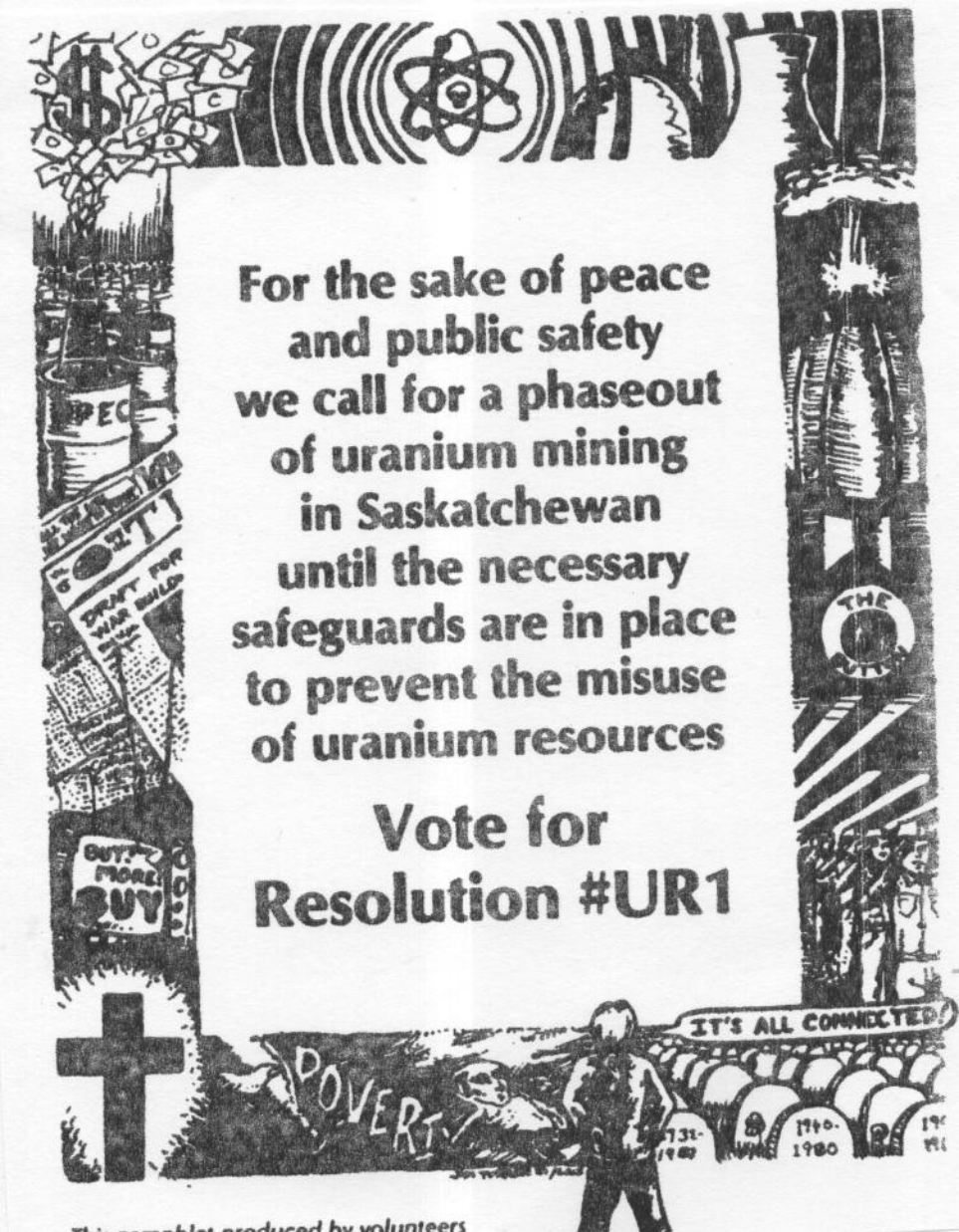
The capitalist system must be replaced with socialist democracy. That is the burning issue of our era, the only hope of humanity.

\* \* \*

### THE LEFT CAUCUS

Supporters of the NDP Left Caucus are members of the party committed to campaigning for a change in the party's course consistent with the socialist principles of the Regina Manifesto. If you're sympathetic to many of the ideas expressed in this document, please feel free to get involved with us. If you wish further information on the Left Caucus, want additional copies of the Regina Manifesto Amendment, or would like to arrange for a Left Caucus supporter to address your constituency association, write or phone: Howard Brown, 1051 McNiven Ave., Regina, 586-4991; Ed Mahood, 327 Lake Cr., Saskatoon, 374-0282; Wendy Manson, Box 245, Conquest, 243-4811; Mark Stobbe, 718 University Dr., Saskatoon, 244-2258.





For the sake of peace  
and public safety  
we call for a phaseout  
of uranium mining  
in Saskatchewan  
until the necessary  
safeguards are in place  
to prevent the misuse  
of uranium resources

**Vote for  
Resolution #UR1**

*This pamphlet produced by volunteers*

***Fellow New Democrats,***

***Conditions have changed dramatically since we last considered the question of uranium mining at our November, 1981, convention:***

- We know that Saskatchewan uranium customers such as South Korea have attained the atomic bomb using nuclear electrical generating facilities as a cover. Stopping uranium exports must therefore be a fundamental part of a nuclear disarmament policy;
- Jobs in the North from uranium mining have not materialized to the extent projected. Nor have revenues to the province. 1983 uranium revenues are only one-sixth of what they were originally projected to be;
- There have been serious reactor safety problems in Ontario;
- There is no solution in sight to the problem of disposing of the highly toxic wastes our uranium becomes after being used in a nuclear reactor; and
- New evidence shows Saskatchewan uranium is being diverted for use in hydrogen bombs.

The problems associated with the mining of uranium are extremely serious.

The only responsible solution is to cease the mining of uranium until these problems are solved. We thus advocate:

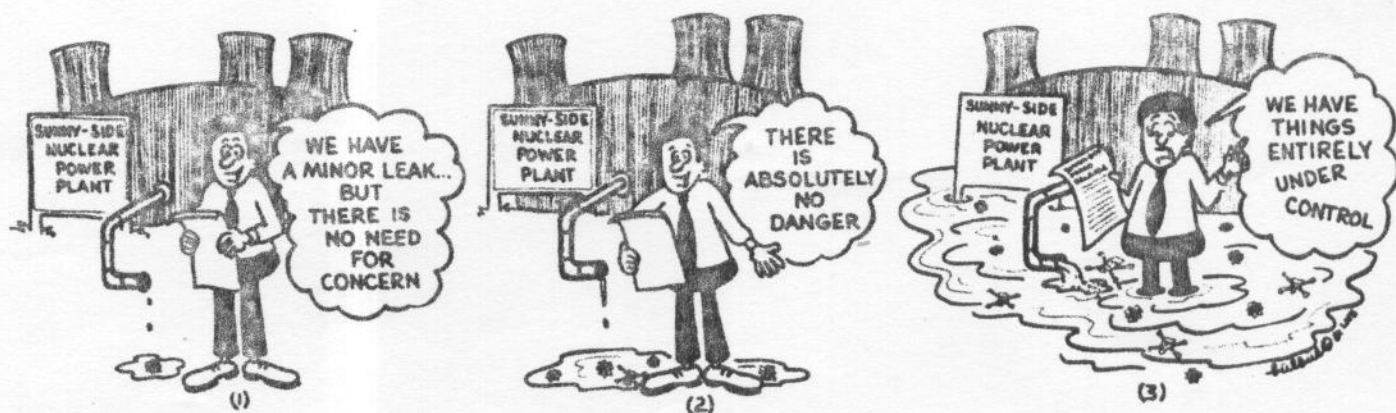
- (1) no further expansion of uranium mining, and
- (2) a carefully planned phaseout of existing uranium mine operations.

Of paramount importance in a planned phaseout of the mines is the implementation of a policy ensuring alternative jobs for all workers who lose jobs as a result of uranium mines closing.

Also of extreme importance is a commitment by our Party, when in government again, to make major investments in alternative forms of job creation for the people of northern Saskatchewan and controlled by the people of northern Saskatchewan.

***We ask New Democrats to join in calling for a halt to uranium expansion and a carefully planned phaseout of uranium mining.***

**You can do that by voting for Resolution #URI**



***The following names represent an expression of individual commitment by a sample of New Democrats from around Saskatchewan who support Resolution #URI***

Dwain Lingenfelter, MLA  
 Allen Engel, MLA  
 Lorne Nyatrom, MP  
 Vic Althouse, MP  
 Simon de Jong, MP  
 Fr. Bob Ogle, MP  
 Alvin Hewitt  
 Nettie Wiebe\*  
 Gil Pedersen  
 Dean Fraser  
 Sharon Armstrong  
 John Shoberg  
 Wayne Welte  
 Kathleen Swalm  
 Larry Warwaruk  
 Bernie Wiens  
 Doris Rederburg  
 Ken Funk  
 Bob Clipperton  
 Joanne Sorenson  
 Ray Funk  
 Verden Jeancart  
 Elton Davids  
 Pat Krug  
 Mary McGuire  
 Don Beveridge

Shaunavon  
 Assiniboia-Gravelbourg  
 Yorkton-Melville  
 Humboldt-Lake Centre  
 Regina East  
 Saskatoon East  
 Biggar  
 Biggar  
 Cut Knife-Lloydminster  
 Souris-Cannington  
 Quill Lakes  
 Moose Jaw South  
 Kindersley  
 Kindersley  
 Rosetown-Elrose  
 Rosetown-Elrose  
 Estevan  
 Rosthern  
 The Battlefords  
 Turtleford  
 Shellbrook  
 Prince Albert  
 Yorkton  
 Melville  
 Moosomin  
 Maple Creek

John Solomon  
 Doug McArthur  
 Elsie Gorius  
 Louise Simard  
 Ingrid Alesich\*  
 Clint White  
 Arlene Franko  
 Mary Lou Deck  
 Wes Robbins  
 Pat Atkinson  
 Harold Brown  
 Paul Mostoway  
 Sean Kenny  
 Joe Hilbig  
 Alan Boulton  
 Peter Prabble  
 Ed Mahood\*  
 Dixie Campbell-Tymchatyn  
 Mark Koenker  
 Larry Ratslaff  
 Connie Lepard  
 Dave Whalley  
 C.A. (Smokey) Robson

Regina North West  
 Regina Lakeview  
 Regina Lakeview  
 Regina Lakeview  
 Regina Centre  
 Regina Wascana  
 Regina Victoria  
 Regina Rosemont  
 Saskatoon Nutana  
 Saskatoon Nutana  
 Saskatoon Nutana  
 Saskatoon Centre  
 Saskatoon Centre  
 Saskatoon Fairview  
 Saskatoon University  
 Saskatoon University  
 Saskatoon University  
 Saskatoon East  
 Saskatoon Sutherland  
 Saskatoon South  
 Saskatoon Sutherland  
 Saskatoon Mayfair  
 Saskatoon Eastview

\* Member of the NDP Uranium Education Committee

THE POWER OF POSITIVE THINKING - by Ross Dowson

It is not at all suprising that the Ontario Left Caucus, despite deeper and more rooted left tendencies in other provincial sections - the only organized Left Caucus, has difficulties in functioning. It is astonishing that an organized Left Caucus even exists in Ontario, with the exhaustion of layer after layer of the party's activist core and the leadership policy of depoliticization of the constituency associations of the party.

Over the past several years the party has suffered a series of defeats - in Saskatchewan and in B.C. If the Left can claim that this is in part due to the party leadership's pusillanimous liberal-reformist policies that minimize, if not actually trivialize the significance of the party in the face of the growing crisis, increasing the ranks of working people who are standing on the sidelines as passive observers, the fact is they are defeats for the party as a whole - and yes - including its Left Caucus.

That this is so is demonstrated by a certain tendency in the Left to question in off-the-cuff statements the viability of the NDP as a mass labour party formation and to characterize every failing on our part as a crisis. That of course inevitably leads to the Left Caucus losing confidence in its perspective and of course in itself.

And it causes the Caucus to turn in on itself - to attribute its difficulties to the shortcoming of this or that element in the Caucus itself, to hyper-criticism and to ideological hairsplitting.

Of course our responses should be just the opposite. Instead of hairsplitting we should be emphasizing our common grounds of belief. We should be circulating our Manifesto far and wide. We should be tolerant of many differences in our ranks and have an educational stance towards them. We should be intervening together and boldly, where we see an opportunity, as in the anti-nuclear arms struggle, to further the correct policies of the party.

To resist the depoliticization of the constituency associations, in Toronto as a beginning, we should launch an ongoing public forum that will fill in the gap left by the constituency associations, to provide a pole of attraction to working people who are certain to radicalize as the crisis deepens, and to provide a public face for the Left Caucus within the party.

Some of these views expressed at a recent Left Caucus meeting caused one of the platform speakers to designate me as the Norman Vincent Peale of the Left Caucus. I plead guilty to thinking positively about the NDP, based as it is on organized labour, as a movement of social and political change towards a socialist Canada.



This discussion and our upcoming conference must chart an exciting new course of consolidation and expansion for the Left Caucus, following the political success of our Manifesto last spring. My contribution is made in that spirit.

The Left in the NDP, and in particular the Left Caucus, is beset by both serious problems and equally serious opportunities. We need to have a rough understanding of our collective past to begin to know what to do about our future.

Any discussion starts with the demise of the Waffle and the demise of any organized Left in the Ontario NDP in the early seventies. I believe this assisted the Leadership of the NDP moving in hurried fashion to the right, in order, in their view, to capture disaffected Liberals. No more "Corporate Welfare Bums" campaigns. At the same time the economy started a tailspin which the Leadership of the NDP still has not come to grips with, and which has devastated Canada's working class. This shift to the right or "respectability" became and still is today the Holy Grail for a leadership seeking electoral success. It has left the party unable to respond well in situations like the Hospital Workers' strike. And it has met with either real or potential electoral failure since 1975, federally at the present time, and provincially since 1977, culminating in the disastrous election of 1981.

This move to the right was accompanied by disorganization and demoralization of the Leadership of the party in Ontario between Stephen Lewis' demise and the rise of Bob Rae. These factors set the stage for the Left Caucus.

The Left Caucus was first formed in the leadership's most disorganized period, the 1978 Cassidy leadership convention. It was kept going by a series of direct confrontations with the strategy of a shift to the right.

In particular the attempts to ditch public ownership (1980 Industrial Task Force, hailed by the Toronto Star as a new, even more moderate NDP); the attempts by Broadbent to dump our party's opposition to NATO and NORAD; the refusal to call for negotiations during Quebec's referendum; waffling on environmental issues, particularly nuclear; the Bob Rae leadership campaign which tried to take-over many activist ridings; and most recently a statement of principles devoid of any political program for a socialist Canada.

Those were our opportunities and they were taken by the Left to organize the Left Caucus that mounted occasionally successful opposition, and in Ontario a Left leadership campaign with Richard Johnston.

Two real problems affected the Left. One, summed up by a truism, is "whenever the party does badly the Left does worse". Cynics that relish party defeats are wrong if they think those defeats build the Left. Left activists leave the party due to demoralization when these defeats take place.

- 4 -

The other real problem is that the Left has not been able to challenge the legitimacy of the Leadership within the party as a whole, and this also has led to demoralization of left activists. Witness the fall-out of the Ontario leadership campaign.

I believe today's situation can be met by an approach to the party as a whole, what I would call "rebuilding the party as a fighting force for social and political change". It can also be met by an approach to the Left Caucus, what I would call "an active and open Left Caucus".

For the NDP to become a fighting force we as socialists need to press for activity at all levels of the party. At the riding association level we need a commitment to be involved in anti-war issues, Refuse the Cruise demonstrations, etc.; support for abortion clinics; unemployed and job campaigns; and involvement with local union struggles such as strikes, closures, etc. We can get involved with or help start committees such as MTAC's Anti-War Committee, the Women's Committee of the provincial party, etc. We can press for this involvement at all levels of the NDP. The NDP needs to be seen as more than just an electoral machine, but as the public opposition to the evils of capitalism.

An active an open Left Caucus will confront the Leadership when its necessary, when opportunities to rally and build the Left exist, such as the Manifesto debate. It will also be a place where real political debate and discussion can take place without fears of recrimination for any views expressed. The real issue of democracy in the party is the failure and indeed prevention of political discussion. The Left can meet this need.

Real people making real choices will determine what kind of Left Caucus we have, and also very much determine the Left's effectiveness in working for socialism. In times of economic crisis such as now, confrontations within the party will almost entirely be left/right confrontations, as they have been almost exclusively in the recent past. We need to recognize this fact and have an organized Left presence wherever possible in party debate. The organized right wing of the party will try to undermine real debate and confrontation and that must be resisted.

If we want the Left Caucus to grow, to be a dynamic force in the party, we have to attract the maximum numbers of people possible. And in doing that we have to recognize the real situation, that the NDP is diverse and that diversity is reflected in those who would build and be attracted to the Left. Common positions are necessary. The manifesto will serve us well as a means of telling those interested what the Left in the NDP is about. Dogmatism, however, regardless of the slogan used, is just as destructive as succumbing to leadership pressures.

I would like to sum up by quoting our Manifesto.

The New Democratic Party is the party of the dispossed and oppressed struggling to build a new world. We are both a social movement and a political party....

We do not offer just a blueprint to a better future. We offer an invitation to all Canadians to join us, as we join them, in our common efforts to eradicate a social system based on exploitation, discrimination, poverty and war. The capitalist system must be replaced by socialist democracy. That is the burning issue of our era, the only hope of humanity.

This is the vision the Left Caucus needs to take to our party, and the vision necessary to build the Left in the NDP.

ONDP LEFT CAUCUS FORUM

*Socialist*  
STRATEGIES FOR THE PEACE MOVEMENT

DATE: TUESDAY, APRIL 17, 1984

TIME: 7:30 p.m.

PLACE: BLOOR COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE  
AUDITORIUM

1141 Bloor Street West  
near the Dufferin Subway Station

SPEAKERS: DAVID KRAFT  
Toronto Disarmament Network

KIMBERLEY WILDE  
NDP Anti-War Committee

ANN SWARBRICK  
Metro Toronto Labour Council

RICHARD JOHNSTON, M.P.P.

---

For further information call D. Tomczak, 536-6561 or  
Mary Rowles, 469-1404.

FUNDRAISING APPEAL!!!

The ONDP Left Caucus is still \$1,300.00 in debt.  
We need funds to continue to do mailings, etc.

Please send donations to:

ONDP Left Caucus  
c/o 375 Montrose Avenue  
Toronto, Ontario  
M6G 3H2

*(i.e. Have a  
printed presence  
at Prov. Convention)*

We are planning regional meetings to plan for the  
convention at the end of June, with a major Left Caucus  
meeting to kick-off the convention at Hamilton when  
decisions will be made on strategy for the convention.

*A full-fledged conference will be held in the  
fall. The June meetings referred to on the other side  
are the Toronto regional meetings for the convention.  
D. Tomczak.*



Brothers & Sisters,

Over the next few months the ONDP Left Caucus will be sponsoring a series of meetings.

The first of these, scheduled for this weekend is a panel discussion of the Laxer Report. This will be held, in conjunction with Council;

Saturday, March 24th

12:00 Noon

Medical Sciences Building

University of Toronto

panellists:

Mel Watkins

Dave Robertson, NDP Research

Simon Rosenblum

In this package is information about a public meeting which will be held on April 17th, to discuss socialist strategies for Peace.

In addition to this we plan to meet two evenings in June, on the 11th and the 14th, to review resolutions being forwarded to Conventions.

We hope to see members of Left Caucus and other interested members of the Party at all these meetings.

In Solidarity,

*MARY ROWLES*  
Mary Rowles

*David Tomczak*  
David Tomczak

# Left Caucus Report

1

## Significance of Convention to Party

- on eve of fed. election
- probably prov. election soon
- party's popularity selon polls is at rock bottom
- ridings are inactive, sluggish, uninspired
- leadership, except for Johnston, invest all efforts into:
  - parliamentarism
  - routine tasks - fundraising
- convention attendance anticipated to be low
  - demoraliz<sup>n</sup>
  - Hamilton location
  - high delegates fee
- leadership's goals:
  - present party as united
  - present itself as clued into current sit<sup>n</sup> ⇒  
lengthy coverage on effects of technology on  
work place, bare mention of shorter work week,  
report on visible minorities, left task force  
document on housing, omission of educ<sup>n</sup> task  
force esp. Separate Schools issue
  - appear clued in, electable, & ∴ attractive
- ■ serious attempt to mobilize bloc votes (union  
votes), make necessary concessions, avoid serious  
controversy
- ~~appear~~ necessary to appear to be more than  
rump convention

State of Left Caucus leading up to convention <sup>[basically a ~~mantra~~ holding  
op<sup>n</sup> since task force  
detection]</sup>

- reflected demoraliz<sup>n</sup> & disenchantment:

- demoraliz<sup>n</sup>: little activity or feed-in
- disenchantment: feeling of futility by right wing of L.C.: ~~Samon~~, Laura, George, Cameron Hopkins, Harvey Wiers & Alice Hoag
  - 1<sup>st</sup> gap together & Mary decided to run vs. leadership on democracy ticket
  - 2<sup>nd</sup> gap dropped out.
- lack of connection, activity, discussion both in & out of Toronto
- factional division in L.C. (L.C. = Left Caucus - ed.)
- no L.C. intervention in resol<sup>n</sup>s; however, left resol<sup>n</sup>s appeared on Nicaragua, shorter work week, ~~and~~ women's rights  $\Rightarrow$  pockets of discontent cont L.C.
- steering cttee of L.C. not functional  $\Rightarrow$  right wing blocking to run low key, respectable challenge to leadership
- our intervention decisive in getting a L.C. statement into sit<sup>n</sup>, setting up local meetings, organizing & chairing discussions, implementing mechanics of decisions & taking responsibility for preparing & uniting L.C. (Zois, Ross, Harry, Gord, Dave)
- on eve of conv<sup>n</sup>, statement in jeopardy due to obstreperousness of George Ehring wing & Barry Weisleder - Dale Ritch wing as well as straddling of Wayne
- slate of L.C. in serious doubt because of: factionalism, declared Ehring slate, declared Weisleder - Ritch slate.

issues: shorter work week  
nationaliz<sup>n</sup> & workweek  
control  
women  
youth.



(3)

(3)

- no L.C. discussion or consensus on Sep. School issue.

### (3) Provincial Council

- Separate School issue brought to fore:
  - to appease OSSFF & mollify oppos<sup>n</sup>
  - to try to head off full-scale confrontation by absorption
- leadership flexibility & consensus
  - telegrams on ~~Scott~~ Brit. miners & German metalworkers accepted - little dissent
- attempt to absorb dissidence from N. wing → "right to life" table ~~defeated~~ proposed by P.C. but defeated by Women's Ctee + Labor
- L.C. statement distributed → labor dissidence.
- first meeting of L.C. → factual discussion on women's intervention & postponement of slate choosing
- underlying issue: can L.C. carry partial slate which includes cross-slatting & is non-exclusive?
- separate school issue not seriously considered by L.C.

### (4) Convention

- leadership set up atmosphere of education, consolidation, unity
  - Futurologist
  - poverty report
  - visible minorities report
  - Nancy White
  - Dave Broadfoot
  - strong speeches by Rae & Broadbent → fighting, class, ~~for~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~his~~
- more restricted time for debates.

- resolutions cttee more tightly controlled than ever with added requirements such as delegates' signatures
  - stripped off independent pressure, e.g. didn't give priority to St. A. & P. Nic. resol<sup>n</sup> despite support of 29 ridings  $\Rightarrow$  appearance of giving priority to popular support in requirement of signatures yet disdaining both in cttee & on floor voice of ridings
- on other hand, leadership administrative controls offset by discontent on women's issues, education, anti-imperialist struggle, unemployment
- also, caucuses formed to establish interests: women, Franco-ontariens, Left Caucus, etc.
- discussions characterized by floor wrangles & manipulation by chair:
  - cut off debate on shorter work week while ramming through weakening of task force on its already weak proposals so as to not tie
  - NI leadership down in election (Cassidy) to support of labor bloc vs. its own policy
  - resol<sup>n</sup> & cttee refusal to give priority to St. A & P proposal to have NDP presence in Nic. (which would pressure fed. party) & subsequent blatant rule bashing to try to kill issue
- discontent, nonetheless, surfaced & found powerful expression in which L.C. speakers esp. more left members spoke most forcefully
  - Harry K. on RCMP
  - Malcolm B. & Weisleder on Sep. Schools
  - Heap, Zacher, etc. on Nic.
  - Women's Cttee backed by labor caucus & some MPP's on right to choose (split in leadership)  $\Rightarrow$

①  
to intervene on P2C2  $\Rightarrow$  meaningless passing of resol<sup>n</sup> & no discussion on involvement of party, lack of unity perspective in advance of convention, abandonment of L.C. by large faction on stage after (i.e. Ross & Lois Elliot in)  
- Ldrshp also maintained cover of unity & absorption of Rosenblum & Lanken

## ⑤ Conclusions

- Ldrshp succeeded in forcefully carrying its line & control absorbing & dissipating most confrontations
- however, dissidence seriously undermined its manip<sup>n</sup> esp. on sep. schools, women's issues & Nic.
- L.C. emerged as ~~for~~ pole of ~~power~~ power & dissent & also improved its internal & external appearance as unified force
- although publicly party has image Ldrshp wants to portray, delegates experienced a considerable disloc<sup>n</sup> on cono<sup>n</sup> which at outset appeared as hard bloc Ldrshp controlled
- Ldrshp hopes to capitalise on left fighting image while steering clear of controversial items
- L.C. has new perspective of consolidation & growth
  - requires building on overcoming factionalism
  - positive appraisal of L.C. power (contradictory to defeat of Laura & Mary)
  - establishing new strg. cttee on basis of rep. from dissident groups
  - full conf. which restructures & builds on good & responsible admin. as well as forums
  - newsletter report (e.g. Chris Ross)
  - non-exclusionary rep.



~~Simon Rosenblum~~ + Left Caucus NATO position

from the Left+Caucus appeal to the 1984 Ontario Convention June 1984

from the Draft Manifesto for the NDP, Submitted by the Ontario Left+Caucus, March 1983

Reproduce section Peace+World justice

we mobilize all the forces at our disposal to turn back  
~~all the efforts to force the withdrawal of our party~~  
~~to ensure that our party stands out-of-NATO play~~  
and the scrapping of our ~~proposed~~ pro-peace platform  
Statement

while reaffirm

A New Democratic world

Collectively

endorse HK's submission

"Dumping our NATO position will undermine the NDP's authority in the peace movement, demoralize the rank & file, further blur our distinct image in the public mind, provide political support for a Tory swing towards Reagan's militaristic policies, derail important sectors of the independent mass peace movement + eventually undermine the leadership of the NDP itself." We should not let it happen."

Defending the NDP as  
the anti-war party

K+5 sign

various  
relations  
reject  
leadership  
position

# Vote for socialist action!

*Elect to the ONDP Executive*



**DALE RITCH** ...member-at-large

•long-time activist Dovercourt NDP •community organizer, west end of Toronto  
•member International Typographical Union, local 91

30 votes



**BARRY WEISLEDER** ...member-at-large

•President OPSEU local 595 •union organizer •member of Dovercourt NDP executive

4



**ROBERT ADAM** ...member-at-large

•chair of Metro Toronto NDP Youth Committee •past-president Armourdale NDP, currently provincial council delegate

25 votes

As supporters of the Left Caucus Manifesto, we believe that the Ontario New Democratic Party should actively fight for:

**SHORTER WORK WEEK WITH NO LOSS IN PAY...** to make work available to the mass of unemployed, to allow workers to benefit from technological advance and increased productivity. We can't wait for legislation—the party should be involved in helping to organize the unorganized and the unemployed to fight for these gains now.

**WOMEN'S RIGHTS...** by joining the struggle for equal pay for work of equal value; by speaking out **now** in defense of free-standing abortion clinics and in support of Doctors Morgenthaler, Smoling and Scott who are being persecuted for helping women secure their right to choice.

**A UNIFIED PUBLIC EDUCATION SYSTEM...** without public funding or any special privileges for private or religious schools that serve to fragment and sectarianize education.

**AN AUTONOMOUS YOUTH WING OF THE ONDP...** to educate and mobilize young people in the fight for their own rights and to build the party.

**AN ORIENTATION TOWARDS EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITIES...** to involve the party in the mass social movements essential to the transformation of capitalist society.

**SOCIAL OWNERSHIP OF THE COMMANDING HEIGHTS OF THE ECONOMY...** so that human need and rational planning can replace the dictates of private profit.

**WORKERS CONTROL AND COMMUNITY CONTROL...** so that those who make the country run can, for once, run the country.

**SOLIDARITY WITH WORKERS STRUGGLES AROUND THE WORLD:** Canada out of NATO. Support revolutionary Nicaragua. For an NDP Embassy in Managua.

Endorsed by: Larry Fine, Dovercourt; Judy Rebick, Oakwood; Andy Nicholson, Simcoe East





# Economic debate: NDP in a quandry

by Barry Weisleder  
Dovercourt NDP

Sheer fatalism dominates the analysis of New Democratic Party leaders. An 'anti-government mood' and depression-bred 'economic conservatism' are said to be the reasons for the party's low standing in the polls.

The chief merit of former party research director Jim Laxer's opus **Taking Stock** is its suggestion that the NDP's own economic policy is much at fault.

Unfortunately, Laxer's prescription is just a few steps farther along the same disastrous road the party is travelling. We're witness to a debate essentially about economic nationalism, with Laxer prepared to urge more openly and more clearly anti-working class measures.

Both parties to this debate advocate a 'new industrial strategy.' They agree on many elements that such a strategy' would embrace:

a) collaboration between government and the private sector (with some amount of public enterprise, joint ventures and cooperative development thrown in to make it more palatable to supporters of the NDP);

b) 'Canadianization' of the manufacturing sector; heavy reliance on tax incentives to the private sector, combined with Canadian content regulations imposed on foreign firms and a government domestic procurement policy.

c) A heavy dose of protectionism (in an increasingly protectionist world) which would force consumers to 'buy Canadian.' at higher prices.

d) An increase in research and development in Canada to promote new products and industries—another subsidy to the corporations, in the main.

The now insignificant difference between NDP leaders and Laxer lies in how to fund this strategy, and how far to go with it.

The party leadership subscribes to the mechanism of deficit financing, the mainstay of Keynesianism. Ed Broadbent would set aside large investment funds to support 'industries with a future.'

Jim Laxer would increase taxes, and give larger breaks and grants to 'successful' enterprises—only Canadian executives need apply. To this he adds a proposal for a new federal government bond issue (a National Rebuilding Fund) designed to attract large pools of individual savings (for which Canadians are supposedly famous) to be used as capital to create new Canadian enterprises and to retool existing ones. Of course Laxer's rejection of deficit financing has other implications too—and has rightly concerned many working people worried about the already tenuous future of existing, admittedly weak, social programmes. In fact, it

is quite clear that under capitalism the only way to finance a major industrial re-tooling is at the expense of social expenditures.

Also in dispute is what stance to take towards certain federal Liberal government initiatives with which the NDP is already too closely identified. I refer to the Foreign Investment Review Agency (created in the early 1970's when the NDP held the balance of power in Parliament), the National Energy Programme, the Canadian Development Corporation, and lest we forget, the new Constitution. The latter is an economic factor too because, among other things, the Constitution augmented federal power to intervene in the natural resource sector, control (and subsidize) exploration, and impose exorbitant surtaxes (to fund other 'nationalist' ventures.)

Laxer contends that the party has been too critical of these 'progressive' Liberal initiatives. This has prompted more than one commentator to describe the Laxer report as a 'left of centre Liberal programme.'

The charge takes on even greater credibility in light of Laxer's advocacy of an incomes policy, i.e. wage controls.

The anti-labour thrust of **Taking Stock** comes through most clearly in its proposals for the future of labour and unionism.

"The labour movement will have to abandon its historical reliance on the adversarial system..." argues Laxer. "labour should insist on the need to rebuild the productive sectors of the economy. It should come out fully on the side of technological change and increased productivity."

In exchange, Labour should demand "a strengthening of social programmes... shorter hours with no loss in pay as productivity gains are made... a re-dedication to full employment..."

When would working people reap these benefits? Only after Canada has recovered from 'de-industrialization.' Laxer asks us to place our trust in a social contract with Liberal and Tory governments, and Canadian capitalists.

The fact that the latter are frankly not interested in such a social contract simply reflects their marginal room for manoeuvre in the current profound economic crisis.

The rulers realize that capitalist 'recovery' demands a major cut—not a 'strengthening'—in the living standards of ordinary Canadians.

Both Laxer and the NDP establishment would have us believe that this can be avoided, one way or another, without challenging corporate power in this country. This illusion, with or without the 'social contract' aspect, is a grave danger in itself.

Certainly, Laxer is right when he says the NDP Keynesian 'demand stimulus'

economics is mired in the 1950's and is hopelessly inflationary.

At the same time the NDP leadership is right to insist that jobs and social services (like medicare) remain key issues over which to fight.

But at bottom, both approaches are totally inadequate.

Neither offers any fundamental solutions to the problems we face.

Because both assume that capitalism can be reformed to serve human needs.

Under capitalism, however, production is for private profit. Tax incentives and elaborate investment programmes cannot alter that fact—instead they cater to it. For that reason alone, it is contradictory for a workers party to suggest using public funds to support, or create private enterprises.

Uneven development and antiquated methods are real problems in the economy. But, decentralization of manufacturing and other industries will not occur by means of isolated and sporadic economic initiatives in depressed regions.

And the development and mastery of new technologies will not result from larger government research grants nor from promotion of 'promising' Canadian firms.

All of these priorities can be met only within a new, integrated economics; one that is rational, planned and democratically subservient to the needs of working people.

A piecemeal approach only prolongs the agony of social dislocation, subject to every whim of big capital. And the retrograde 'sacrifice for the good of Canada' approach of the economic nationalists could destroy both labour and the NDP.

A socialist strategy is the only one that can put the working class back to work. Not only is public ownership of the commanding heights of the economy, under workers control, the only policy the Liberals can't coopt. But in the face of Reaganism, Thatcherism and the resurgent Tories, it offers the only realistic alternative.

## WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE MORE SOCIALIST EDUCATION AND DEBATE IN THE NDP?

Supporters of this leaflet believe there is a growing need for critical thinking, writing and debate to re-vitalize the left inside the NDP. But who will publish, circulate or provide a forum for the views of left NDPers?

That's why we think an Educational and Publishing Committee could play a useful role. If you're interested in helping to establish such a vehicle, please contact Dale Ritch at: 295 Delaware Ave., Toronto M6H 2T7 or call 537-5805.



## STRENGTHEN THE NDP'S OUT-OF-NATO POLICY

by DAN HEAP, M.P.

8 - 12 - 84

For fifteen years the NDP has said Canada should get out of NATO. The chief reason, restated in the 1981 Convention Resolution "Peace, Security and Justice", is that,

"The NDP cannot support participation in any alliance formed for aggressive purposes; nor can it support any alliance which defends dictatorial regimes and contributes to the maintenance of political repression in the world."

Now that Mulroney rules Canada, Mulroney who calls Reagan our best friend and gives him the benefit of the doubt when there is no doubt, we must continue and strengthen our out-of-NATO policy.

NATO, whatever Canadians may have thought 35 years ago, is today a military alliance, as former U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson has said. And it has a history of aggression.

- About 1950, NATO recruited Turkey as an Atlantic power, although Turkey has a long history of dictatorship, genocide, and aggression against Greece and Cyprus.
- NATO armaments helped Salazar's fascist Portugal to war against resistance movements in their African colonies.
- As late as last month, a NATO fleet, with Canadian participation, cruised the Caribbean to intimidate tiny nations that offer no threat to the security of North America or Western Europe but are trying to throw off oppressive dictatorships.
- Canada, because of NATO, is locked into helping to produce military hardware such as the cruise missile, that the U.S. uses to invade or intimidate countries in the Caribbean, Latin America, the Pacific Rim and the Middle East.
- NATO prevents Canada from being a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone because we are locked into letting U.S. nuclear armed planes, warships and submarines use our airspace and territorial waters.
- NATO locks Canada into a nuclear strategy of first strike and nuclear vengeance.
- NATO has committed Canada to what Major General Johnson, formerly of NATO, calls "Militarism, the wasting disease of human society" corrupting our values, destroying accountability of our government to Parliament, and replacing our production for civilian uses with industries that manufacture death and rely on war for profits and jobs.

Prime Minister Mulroney, who was elected on the promise of 'Jobs, Jobs, Jobs', has in three months presided over the loss of 50,000 jobs, with more to go. He has done absolutely nothing to create permanent productive jobs. He has cut the buying power of ordinary Canadians by \$500.00 per family, promoting stagnation in the domestic market.

His solution is to smile and say "private industry will provide, maybe next year".

What does Mulroney offer to hungry workers and their families? War.

Mulroney will send a brigade to Norway.

Mulroney is downgrading Canadian industries that manufacture what Canadian civilians need. While he promotes the export of war goods to NATO allies and their sidekicks.

Mulroney is hosting a Pentagon shopping team visiting Canada to buy war goods. Some of us picketted them yesterday at Toronto's Convention Centre.

Mulroney continues Trudeau's policy of using NATO to block Parliament from debating defense policy, while he opposes a freeze on nuclear weapons, continues cruise testing, and refuses the principle of no first use of nuclear weapons.

What should our NDP policy be in the late 80's?

1. Canada out of NATO.
2. Concentrate Canada's defense resources on aerial and naval surveillance of our coasts and on control of entry into our territorial land and waters by aeroplanes, fishing boats, or warships of any nation whatever.
3. Negotiate mutual security agreements with all nations:
  - in the Caribbean, including Central America,
  - around the Arctic Ocean.
- 4 Send a permanent NDP representative to Nicaragua.

The NDP is a party of peace. Let's continue half a century of tradition.

## IN DEFENCE OF THE NDP'S ANTI-NATO POSITION

By Gord Doctorow

NOTES ON DEBATE WITH SIMON ROSENBLUM AT DEC. 9/84 ONDP PROVINCIAL COUNCIL

The drive to nuclear war is now so strong and so diabolically technically sophisticated that all serious analysts think that nuclear war is inevitable. More significantly, this opinion is held by a majority of Canadians, according to recent opinion polls. We face the despairing prospect of nuclear winter and the launching of the equivalent of 1 million Hiroshima bombs, each one capable of incinerating 50,000 people in seconds.

According to Project Ploughshares leader Ernie Regehr and NDP federal councillor Simon Rosenblum, in their book Canada and the Nuclear Arms Race, despite Canada's lack of nuclear military weaponry, it plays an important part in perpetuating the war preparations. Canada's involvement has been to act as diplomatic cover for U.S. governments through the American network of military, economic and political entanglements: trade dependency, the Defence Production Sharing Agreements, NATO, NORAD, ASEAN, U.S. corporate investment and domination in Canada.

The party most culpable in driving up the arms race is the U.S. government and NATO through its war preparations. Who says so? Simon Rosenblum, in several articles in his book Canada and the Nuclear Arms Race. So does retired Major-General Leonard Johnston formerly of the Canadian armed forces and now a leading member and advocate of Generals for Peace and Disarmament, a group of 13 retired NATO generals and admirals. At a November 22 address at the University of Toronto, sponsored by the Women's International League for Peace and Democracy, Leonard Johnston echoed Rosenblum's views as expressed in his book: that U.S. governments and top spokespersons have engaged in a deceptive campaign of exaggeration of the Soviet Union's military capabilities in order to justify so-called defence (in reality militarist) budgets. Rosenblum recounts various incidents and also quotes Daniel Ellsberg citing 10 occasions when the U.S. threatened the use of nuclear weapons in addition to Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Rosenblum quotes retired U.S. Admiral Rickover, the father of the nuclear navy, who denounced the U.S. government's unjustified military spending while asserting that the Soviet Union was always lagging behind militarily.

Both Rosenblum and Johnston agree that in modern warfare technology drives doctrine -- that irrespective of the reservations that military leaders wish to place on nuclear weapons systems, the nature of the systems itself obliges them to adopt the stance of launch on warning systems. They agree that hair triggers have been placed at the head and heart of the world as a consequence. They agree that NATO's strategy is out of control, that it is predicated on first strike capability and that there is no room for discussion in case of perceived threat since the margin of retaliation time is 6 minutes.



Dr. Helen Caldicott, star of "If You Love This Planet", calls NATO a "mutual suicide pact". General Johnston calls it dangerous and incapable of reform. Rosenblum used to agree with these perspectives; he fought alongside the Left Caucus against the Cold War alliance which destabilizes the world. However, in the wake of the Tory victory and the entry of many conservative elements in the disarmament movement, he has adapted to the right and betrayed his previous principled opposition to NATO. In this, he is seconding the public meanderings of NDP House leader Ian Deans and outgoing party secretary Gerald Caplan, who has placed the concept of staying in NATO beside the idea of the party pulling out of the labor movement.

While these prominent party members are defecting from established party policy, General Johnston, despite his former involvement in NORAD, his previous position as associate assistant deputy minister for policy in the Department of National Defence and commandant of the National Defence College in Kingston, calls upon Canadians to open their minds to withdrawal from NATO. "As an internationalist, I would feel prouder if my country withdrew from NATO, stood tall among the meek of the Earth at the United Nations, and ignored the hectoring of the militarists." (Toronto Star article by Johnston, Oct. 27/84) This former militarist has now come to vindicate the party's 1969 anti-NATO policy.

What are Johnston's grounds for rejection of NATO?

NATO IS OBSOLETE. Military training in the age of nuclear warfare is useless and an economically wasteful expenditure. NATO's mentality comes from the days when the U.S. enjoyed a nuclear monopoly. Johnston echoes many of the same arguments put so passionately by the late Andrew Brewin, when he was the NDP's defence critic in the 1970's, having reversed his former cold war position after acquainting himself with the facts.

NATO IS DANGEROUS. It deliberately exaggerates the Soviet Union's military strength in order to justify NATO's war preparations on an ever increasing scale. According to Johnston, all the essential elements of instability that preceded WWI are present today, including the arms race, trade and imperial rivalries. NATO doctrine includes, as expressed by the highest levels of the U.S. administration, including the president, the concept of "winnable" nuclear war. It also assumes the concept of nuclear retaliation, which would mean blowing up what's left of the world should nuclear weaponry be deployed against NATO countries. This idea flows from the dangerous theory of "peace through strength" which purports to prevent war by preparing for it thereby making it inevitable. Thus, NATO stands as an aggressive military pact which subordinates all other values, human, economic and cultural, to militarism.

CANADA GETS NO BENEFIT FROM NATO. Canada is not militarily threatened, according to Johnston. Canada paid the price of 114,000 casualties combined in the Boer War, WWI, WWII, and Korea (the latter as under pressure of NATO to aid U.S. adventurism) because of foreign alliances. Canada makes no military contribution to NATO: only 0.25% of NATO's European forces, tanks

and planes are Canadian even though this costs Canadian taxpayers \$1 billion per year. Canada's role is, therefore, diplomatic and political -- providing NATO with an invaluable image of being more than an American instrument. In fact the political nature of Canada's role is the one influence Canada can exert and only by withdrawing support.

Johnston describes himself as a "nuclear pacifist". He argues for "mutual unilateral disarmament" of the superpowers if possible. However, he is unwilling to make coming to a bilateral agreement a barrier so that he is in such a case for unilateral nuclear disarmament of NATO countries because the alternative is too awful to contemplate and because he is willing to trust the humanity of the Russians to avoid nuclear destruction. He argues that it is madness to proceed with the policy of nuclear retaliation.

At the heart of the Canada-NATO issue is the question of Canadian independence. NATO has already demonstrated that Canada can play no independent or influential role. Former Prime Minister Trudeau, upon receiving the Einstein peace prize, declared frankly that all NATO conferences are set pieces in which the speeches are worked out in advance along with the final communiqués and that no discussion or dissidence is tolerated. External Affairs Minister Joe Clark baldly stated that Canada opposed the vote for a mutual superpower freeze on the grounds that this would betray loyalty to NATO: read United States.

Clearly, NATO is NOT an instrument for consensus in a forum of equals. The U.S. holds everybody in line through its powerful control of such economic agencies as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the Defence Production Sharing Agreements. Canada depends heavily (more than 70%) on trade with the U.S. What levers does Canada have to exert influence? NATO is in essence an instrument of U.S. hegemony. Loyalty to NATO is loyalty to the chain of command which ends at the White House.

The reality of Canada's influence in NATO is expressed in the reality of Canada-U.S. relations. For example, when Reagan decided to invade Granada, it was subsequently revealed that neither Britain nor Canada was informed even though both are NATO allies who are implicated by association. The U.S. Cruise missile is being tested in Canada despite the strenuous objections of a large number of Canadians and despite the fact that the testing could easily be done in the U.S. But both the former Liberal and now Conservative governments treat it as a NATO obligation, not arising from a specific commitment, but rather from the framework of loyalty. In 1971, then President Nixon refused to heed the protest of over 1 million Canadians whose signatures were affixed to a petition requesting the U.S. government to not detonate a nuclear explosive in Amchitka, a detonation located along a fault line that runs through Canadian territory and could have created destructive tides. When the U.S. icebreaker Manhattan ploughed through Canadian waters in the Arctic in the early 70's, what was the U.S. government's response to the Canadian government's warnings and subsequent formal note of protest? A contemptuous sneer. In 1976, when NORAD command apprehended what appeared to be a nuclear attack from a

foreign source, Canadian military personnel were alerted, but the Prime Minister was kept in the dark and not even informed until after the emergency false alarm was over.

Today we are told by NDP MP Svend Robinson that the CIA has been carrying out clandestine spying activity in Canada on the economic front by infiltrating Petrocan and investigating the nationalized potash industry of Saskatchewan. The U.S. government flatly refuses to do anything serious to prevent acid rain pollution from the U.S. despite official protest from several levels of Canadian government. The U.S. government ensnares Canada even more fully with its lucrative Pentagon contracts as an enticement to participate in U.S. militarism as a well rewarded and compliant junior partner.

Canada's subservience to NORAD has meant that billions of dollars have gone into purchasing 18 foreign made aircraft for anti-submarine warfare instead of the 50 or 60 Canadian-made deHavilland Dash-7 craft that could be used to patrol the Canadian coast line (the longest in the world) for search and rescue missions. Then there's the \$5 billion plus spent on U.S.-made F-18 fighter craft, which are obsolete and malfunctioning, instead of building Canadian icebreakers that could patrol the northern Arctic to protect Canadian sovereignty and the delicate ecology.

The choice before Canadians is clearer than ever before. Either we continue to stay in NATO and maintain a dependent, capitalist Canada subservient to U.S. imperialism or we fight for an independent and socialist Canada which will lead the struggle for a world of peace and prosperity.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Canada and the Nuclear Arms Race is a useful source book on the facts of U.S. military superiority, the nature of the arms drive and of the NATO alliance.
  2. The July 1981 issue of Canadian Dimension has an excellent article by Wayne Roberts titled "Just as true to NATO". It's a scathing review of NDP NATO policy as it evolved, providing the facts of the true nature of the alliance and the twists and turns of party policy as they were manipulated not only by the party leadership but also by Liberal governments.
  3. Partner to Behemoth by John Warnock is a useful sourcebook on Canada-U.S.-NATO relations.
  4. The Alliance by Richard Barnett is the best, most recent general work.
  5. Protest and Survive by E.P. Thompson is a good description of the desire of NATO to develop a "first strike" nuclear capability.
  6. Politics of War and Limits of Power by Gabriel Kolko give excellent overviews of the general origins of the Cold War.
- CREDIT FOR THE ABOVE BIBLIOGRAPHY GOES TO JOHN BACHER WHO DID THE RESEARCH AND PROVIDE THE ANNOTATION.